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PAHARPUR AND ITS MATERIAL CONTENTS

Shahanara Husain

Pāhārpur is a village situated in the Rajshahi district of East Pakistan, three miles to the west of Jamalganj railway station. Its latitude is 25°2' north and longitude is 89°3' east.¹ It lies in the midst of the flat alluvial plain of the northern part of East Pakistan at a distance of 29 miles to the north-west of Mahāsthān and over 30 miles to the south-east of Bāngarh, the site of Kotivarsa of ancient fame.² In contrast to the monotonous level of the plain, there stands out the mound called by the local people Pāhār or hill from which the village of Pāhārpur derives its name i. e. "hilltown". The height of the mound is not more than 80 feet above the surrounding country and only 70 feet above the level of its own court-yard.³

The first notice of the great mound of Pāhārpur was given by Hamilton Buchanan⁴ who surveyed Eastern India between the years 1807-1812 by order of the East India Company. The next to visit the Pāhārpur mound was Westmacott. But his description does not materially differ from Buchanan.

Sir Alexander Cunningham visited Pāhārpur in the cold season of 1879-80. He intended to undertake extensive excavations in the Pāhārpur mound, but was prevented from carrying out his plans by the Zamindar and owner of the land Raja Kishen Candar Rai of Balihar. He then made all the skilled labourers brought by him clear the jungle which he found both on the surrounding embankments of the central mound and the low grounds inside the enclosure. After the partial clearance of the jungle Cunningham

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1. *Memoris of the Archaeological Survey of India*, (M. A. S. I) No. 55, p. I.
 2. *Ibid.* p. 3
 3. Cunningham, *A tour in Bihar and Bengal*, p. 117, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XV.
 4. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. II, pp. 669-670.

was able to climb the top of the mound and here he made a few superficial excavations. In contrast to Buchanan Hamilton he concluded after these excavations that the mound was the ruin of a large Brahmanical temple because "one of the terracotta sculptures represented the skeleton goddess Kali".¹

In 1919 the Pāhārpur mound and its enclosure was declared a protected monument under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act and after that it came under the supervision of the Archaeological Department. In February and March of 1923 excavation of the Pāhārpur site was started by the Archaeological Survey Department with the co-operation of the Varendra Research Society in Rajshahi. The work was continued during the year 1925-26 and from that year onwards work at Pāhārpur was carried on every season until it was brought to completion in 1933-34.² Thus a great monastic establishment, the Dharmapāla Vihāra of Somapura, and a temple of Tārā were discovered.³

The earliest antiquity discovered in the Pāhārpur site is the copper-plate dated Māgha 159 of the Gupta era (479 A. D.)⁴ which records the purchase and grant of certain lands by a Brahmin couple for the maintenance of the Jain monks (nigranthaśramaṇa) at the Vihāra of Guhanandin. This discovery shows the probability of the existence of a Jain Vihāra or temple on the spot or in the immediate vicinity of the main temple at Pāhārpur.⁵ In the western hall one of the stones used for the pillar base contains a beautifully carved fragment of a pillar with base and foliage moulding and geese holding strings of pearls on either side of a lotus

1. Cunningham, *A Tour in Bihar and Bengal*, op. cit., Vol. XV, pp. 118-119.
2. M. A. S. I. No. 55, pp. 2—3.
3. The Temple of Tārā was laid bare in the year 1932-33 when the Satyapur Bitā mound, situated at a distance of 300 yards to the east of the main temple, was excavated. The work was carried on in the next season and completed. For details see Archaeological Survey of India, Annual reports (A. S. I., A. R.), 1930-34, pp. 122-ff.
4. *Epigraphia Indica* (E. I.), edited by K. N. Dikshit, XX, pp. 61 ff. Cf., also D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Calcutta University, 1942.
5. M. A. S. I., 55, p. 7

plant in the upper registrar of the central medallion.¹ This work, apparently belonging to an earlier structure standing close to the spot and attributable to the 7th century A. D. together with the copper-plate of the 5th century A. D. shows the great antiquity of the Pāhārpur site. The rise, development and decay of the Buddhist monastic establishment at Pāhārpur are closely connected with the history of the Pāla dynasty which extends over four centuries.

The Pāla rulers were great devotees of Mahāyāna Buddhism and promoted the cause of Buddhism both in Bengal and Bihar. During their rule Buddhism prospered in these two provinces, which were among its last strongholds when it gradually lost hold in India. Many famous Buddhist Vihāras such as those of Vikram-aṣṭīla, Odantapurī and Somapura were founded by them. The absence of traces of any site corresponding to the lofty temple and monastery of Pāhārpur in the itinerary of the Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsang,² who travelled in India during the years 629-645 A. D. would make it likely that there was no Buddhist monastery at this site in the 7th century A. D. and that the main fabric of the Pāhārpur temple and monastery is to be attributed to the early Pāla period. The discovery at Pāhārpur of terracotta sealing of the "community of monks from the great Vihāra of Dharmapāla at Somapura" leaves no doubt that its ruins represent the famous Somapura Vihāra. The seal-legend referred to above also shows that the Somapura Vihāra was founded not by Devapāla as related by Tāranātha³ and the author of the *Pag sam Jan Zong*⁴ but by his father Dharmapāla, sometime in the later half the 8th century A. D. Dharmapurī, the name of the Village which now a days adjoins the Vihāra, seems to retain the name of the founder of this great monastery.

The Dharmapāla Vihāra received patronage from the early Pāla kings. The defeat of the Pālas at the hands of their hereditary enemies the Pratihāras is indicated by an inscription⁵ dated

1. M. A. S. I. *op. cit.*, 12-13.

2. Beal. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, new edition Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 403-404.

3. Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism in India*, by Schiefner, P. 299.

4. Varendra Research Society's (V. R. S.) Monographs, No. 5. p. 27

5. M. A. S. I., No. 55, p. 75

in the 5th year of Mahendrapāla Pratihāra inscribed on a pillar found at the site of Pāhārpur. The revival of Pāla power under Mahīpāla I (C. 988-1036) also affected the monastic establishment at Pāhārpur. At this period "about the end of the 10th century or beginning of the eleventh century, the prosperity of the establishment was reflected in a wholesale renovation of the main Temple and in the monastic cells and at the shrine of Tārā in the Satyapir Bhitā numerous votive stupas were constructed." ¹ A Bodhgaya inscription ² recording in 10th century characters the gift of a Buddha image by the elder (sthavira) Vīryendra, the monk of the great Vihāra of Somapura, shows how the fame of this Vihāra was far and wide. The power of the Pālas again declined after the reign of Mahīpāla I and the incendiarism of an army of Vangāla at Somapura referred to in the second verse of the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra, ³ palaeographically to be assigned to the first half of the 12th century A. D., seems to have occurred in this period. Rāmapāla again retrieved the fortunes of the Pāla dynasty. The Nālandā inscription referred to above records a donation by Vipulaśrīmitra, a monk hailing from Somapura to the Nālandā monastery, and also mentions the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four cells ⁴ and the building of a temple of Tārā. As this inscription is assigned to the first half of the 12th century A. D. it points to the flourishing condition and general prosperity of the Somapura monastery during this period. After Rāmapāla the final collapse of the Pāla dynasty took place and the whole of Bengal came under the rule of the Senas. But they were strong advocates of orthodox Hinduism and their patronage helped it to attain supremacy in Bengal. Deprived of royal patronage the monastic establishment at Pāhārpur seems to have suffered decline. After the overrunning of the whole of North Bengal by the Muslims in the beginning of the 13th century the decay and desolation of the Somapura Vihāra began. A late temple to the south-east of the monastery

1. M. A. S. I., No. 55 p. 6.

2. A. S. I., A. R., 1908-19, p. 158.

3. E. I., XXI, pp. 97ff. Cf. also Hirananda Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic materials*, M. A. S. I., No. 66. 1942, pp. 104-ff.

4. See also E. I., XXI, p. 101 n.

and a few bricks with lotus rosette decoration found on the surface are the only traces of occupation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A. D. ¹

The Somapura Vihāra at Pāhārpur is the largest single monastic building so far discovered in the whole Indian subcontinent. ² During the Pāla period this place gained considerable repute as an important centre of Buddhism as evidenced by contemporary epigraphic records such as the Bodhgayā inscription of Viryendra-bhadra and the Nalandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra. The memory of the great Somapura Vihāra lingered in Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition down to the 17th and 18th centuries A. D. as references to this Vihāra are found in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* and *Pag sam Jan Zong* written by another Tibetan author. Both of these are late works and are known to have been completed in 1608 ₃ and 1747 ⁴ respectively. References to the monastery at Somapura are also found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, e. g., the *Dharmakāyadīpa* and the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*. ⁵ The latter was translated by the great scholar Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (11th century A. D.) with the help of Vīryasimha and Jayasīla in the Somapurī Vihāra. ⁶

The most numerous remains from the Pāhārpur site are the terracotta plaques which decorate the faces of the walls or have been picked up loose from the site. They cover all conceivable subjects of human interest. The terracotta art in India is as old as the Indus valley civilization ; the decorative plaques of Pāhārpur have their counterpart in the plaques from Hanumangarh in Bikaner, the plaques decorating the stūpas at Mirpurkhas in Sind, and those found in large number in a temple at Sahet Mahet. But in richness, variety and

1. M. A. S. I., No. 55 p. 6.

2. J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The Ancient Buddhist Monastery at Paharpur*, reprinted from *Antiquity and Survival* Vol. II No. 1. 1957. p. 30.

3. *History of Bengal*, vol. I, edited by R. C. Majumdar, Dacca University, (1943) p. 182

4. V. R. S. Monographs, No. 5, p. 27.

5. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibetan de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, part II, p. 166 and part III, p. 299.

6. E. I., XXI, p. 98.

exuberance the Pāhārpur plaques can only be compared with the plaques from Maināmati ; both of these places are situated in Bengal and approximately of the same period. The various movements of men and women engaged in different occupations, Śābaras inhabiting the outlying region of Bengal, Brahmanic and Buddhist Gods, scenes from the *Rāmāyana*—and the Kṛṣṇa legend, semidivine and semihuman beings, the flora and fauna of Bengal, Several of the popular stories of the *Pañcatantra* all are represented by the artists of Pāhārpur. The Pāhārpur artists working with simple tools and abundant but less durable materials of clay and mud do not and cannot claim any technical perfection, or higher emotional and intellectual experience. But free from the trammels of iconography and canons of religion these plaques excelled in rendering passing phases and moods of everyday life and give us some idea of the social and religious conditions of Bengal during the pāla period and the life of the common people.¹

Most of the Pāhārpur plaques are of the same period as the temple itself ; they must therefore be dated not later than the second half of the 8th century A. D. . But the manufacture of plaques continued for at least two centuries later.³

The lower part of the basement wall of the main temple is decorated with no less than 63 stone sculptures, representing almost without exception the Brahmanic pantheon. They exhibit extraordinary variations from the point of view of both style and subject matter. Some of the stone reliefs represent Hindu Gods such as Indra, Śiva, Agni, Yama and Kuvera. Others illustrate scenes from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* or episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa. Besides a considerable number of sculptures depict women in dancing poses, dvārapālas and amorous couples.

Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic basis for dating the Pāhārpur sculptures and we are to depend solely on the testimony of style. Almost all of them are in contrast to the products of the Pāla school of art. The only undoubted Buddhist image among the reliefs is that of Padmapāni. But this Buddhist sculpture shows a slight advance over the other specimens found at Pāhārpur and

1. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 528.

2. *Ibid.*

3. M. A. S. I., No. 55, p. 58.

must be attributed to the 8th—9th century A. D.¹ Another relief may represent the birth of Buddha. But apart from these two specimens all the other stone reliefs depict Hindu subjects. According to Dr. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw these Hindu reliefs fall into two groups, one of which shows a decidedly better style of sculpture.² And this last group was not originally intended for the temple at Pāhārpur but the plaques must have belonged to some Hindu temple from which they were taken after it was destroyed and pulled down.³ According to Dr. Van L. de Leeuw, comparison with other sculptures seems to date the stone reliefs of the better type within the second half of the 7th or the first half of the 8th century. About the cruder type of Pāhārpur sculptures she only remarks that perhaps it could also be said of them that they were not originally intended for the temple⁴ but she does not enter into details.

S. K. Saraswāti classifies the Pāhārpur sculptures into three distinct groups on the basis of style, workmanship and quality.⁵ In the first group of sculptures we find fine and smooth modelling, soft linear rhythm, inner spirituality, beautiful and naturalistic folds of the neck and of the belly, beautiful ornaments and carvings, etc.—all of which are features of the Gupta school of art. The second group of sculptures shows a gradual weakening of the Gupta features of the first group. Marked by a general heaviness throughout, the drapery is a little heavy. The features are devoid of the refinement and delicacy noticeable in the first group and the ornaments are often rather coarse. But the sculptures belonging to the second group are sometimes marked by lively action. The third group of sculptures containing by far the largest number shows the complete disappearance of the Gupta features

1. M. A. S. I., No. 55, p. 49.

2. J. E. Van L. de Leeuw. *The Ancient Buddhist monastery at Paharpur*.

3. For her arguments regarding this point, the reader is referred to see page 34 of the above mentioned article.

4. Ibid.

5. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, Journal of the Department of letters, Vol. XXX, 1938, p. 33. For discussion that follows see pp. 34-41 of the above mentioned article.

of the first group. Though almost invariably marked by most lively, naturalistic and unsophisticated movements, the figures are exceptionally heavy and ill-proportioned. The drapery is heavy and hangs down, completely covering the body. In most of the plaques one finds a closefitting garment, looking like a pair of shorts and fitting close to the waist and the thighs. But though technically crude and imperfect, they exhibit the pleasures and sorrows every-day life in a most wonderful way.

According to Saraswati, these three groups can be clearly distinguished on stylistic grounds, each having its own material which is used in the majority of the sculptures of that particular group-e. g., grey sandstone in the first group, bluish basalt in the second and black basalt in the third. In view of the diversity in style, workmanship and material and the gradual deterioration and ultimate extinction of the Gupta features of the first group in the second and third groups, we have to acknowledge the great probability of those three distinct groups belonging to separate periods. "In that case we may fix the chronology thus: sixth century for the first group, seventh for the second and eighth for the third"¹. Saraswati also suggests that, possibly, the first and third groups belong to the same period, say, the 7th century A. D., and the distinction in style and workmanship between the two groups should be explained by the assumption that the first is an eastern version of the Gupta trend and the second the result of the indigenous trend coming into contact with that of the first and evolving a new form.

Nihar Ranjan Ray also distinguished three different groups in Pāhārpur sculptures and maintains that they belong to at least two different periods.² He tries to explain the presence of the stone images of the Brahmanical deities of the late Gupta period in the basement wall of the temple by postulating later insertions of sculptures gathered from the remains of earlier monuments.³ He bases his theory on the irregular disposition of the sculptures and the unequal distribution of the niches and opines that these irregularities cannot in any way reflect the original scheme of decoration,

1. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 40.

2. *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 525, 526, 528, 529, 530, 531.

3. *Ibid.*, 508-509.

which must have been conceived according to a logical and ordered plan. Whereas the northern half of the basement has only twenty-two niches filled in with sculptures, the southern one has as many as forty-one. Irregularities also occur in the disposition of the sculptures between each arm of the cross¹ and in the main walls at the three cardinal points.² Only the projecting angles are invariably provided with sculptured niches on both faces, except at the southern end of the main western wall, where there is no corresponding sculpture facing south. But the niches, intermediate between the projecting angles, are most unequally distributed. They occur most frequently in the south-eastern sector, there being no intermediate niche in the north-western sector, and only four each in the north-eastern and south-western. Dikshit suggests two possible explanations for this irregularity³: (a) Direct sunlight was not obtained in the walls facing north; (b) there was only a limited number of stone reliefs available. But neither of these explanations is satisfactory, so that Ray concluded that the intermediate niches and sculptures, whether on the main walls or between the projecting angles, did not form part of the original plan, which admits of stone sculptures only at the angular projections, one on each face, as *pieces d'accent*. All sculptures in these projections are of approximately the same size, executed in the same kind of material,⁴ the style of the sculptures being completely different from that of classical art, but closely related to the vast number of terracotta plaques—undoubtedly part of the original scheme of decoration—stylistically as well as iconographically. “These sculptures, as binding the corners of the stupendous monument, come in the logic of a planned decorative arrangement, and the construction of the main temple in all its essential features during the period of Dharmapāla in the later part of the eighth century A. D. may safely be in-

1. The ground plan of the Pāhārpur temple is a gigantic square cross with angles of projection between the arms. See *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 504-505.

2. For details see *ibid*, p. 508.

3. M. A. S. I., No. 55, p. 9.

4. They are executed in greyish or white or spotted sandstone. See *History of Bengal*. op. cit., p. 525.

ferred. The intermediate niches, mostly filled in with sculptures of Brahmanical deities of the late Gupta epoch, appear to have been provided for in later times to accommodate sculptures, as gathered from the earlier monuments at the site or in the neighbourhood.”¹

From the above discussion it is clear that only approximate dating of the Pāhārpur sculptures is possible. Basing our conclusion on the testimony of style and also on the disposition of sculptures and distribution of niches the sculptures showing Gupta features and those showing a compromise between the tradition of Gupta sculptures and an indigenous art tradition may be dated belonging to a period between 6th century A. D. and the beginning of the first half of 8th century A. D. The third group of sculptures “though in stone, it is terracotta in technique”.² They belong to the same trend of art as the terracotta plaques themselves and like these also seem to form part of the original decorative scheme of the temple. In view of these facts it appears that they were executed at the same time as the building of the monument itself some time in the later part of the 8th century A. D.

Among the loose stone images and bronze sculptures mention may be made of (a) the head of a stone Bodhisattva, (b) Hevajra with Śakti, (c) a mutilated torso of a Bodhisattva, (d) a standing female figure and a bronze image of Hara-Gaurī. All of these belong to the Pāla School of art.

From the discussion of the history of the Pāhārpur site it is clear that it dates back to the 5th century A. D., when most probably a Jaina vihāra existed there. There is also evidence of the existence of a structure of the 7th century. The Somapura Vihāra founded by Dharmapāla some time in the later part of the 8th century A.D. continued to flourish almost up to the Muhammadan conquest towards the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. Thus the history of the Pāhārpur site extends over almost eight hundred years, i. e. from the 5th to the beginning of the 13th century A. D.

1. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 509.

2. Saraswati, *Early sculpture of Bengal*, op. cit. p. 39.

NOTION OF FALSITY OF THE WORLD IN GAUḌAPĀDA AND SĀMKAṚA

Dr. Govinda Chandra Dev

Many are apt to think that when Vedānta says that the absolute alone is real and the world, 'we live', 'move and have our being' in is false, it suggests that the world is made of an ethereal stuff like the proverbial hare's horn and the sky-lotus and the most that could be conceded is that it exists as long as we percieve it. In other words, in its origin as well as essence, if any, our work-a-day life is subjective pure and simple and it has no independent, objective existence of its own.

Such an estimate of the hard facts of life appears preposterous and at times excites ridicule. While a boy, I was somehow or other attracted to Vedānta philosophy. As a college and University student I remember after about four decades what a heavy price I had to pay for this inordinate love. Being to a fault the victim of a distorted view of the familiar Vedāntic idea of falsity of the world, a sensitive friend of mine used to retort while we sat at the same table : "Very strange indeed. The Vedāntic absolute is taking material food with us, poor mortals. Is it a fact or a fiction ?" That oft-repeated ridicule has, I presume, a lesson for the average student of Vedānta who does not as a rule care to determine what exactly the idea of falsity means.

Viewed rightly, Vedānta does not stand for pure subjectivism of the solipsist who does not hesitate to shut his eyes to prove that the world outside is unreal or pure objectivism of an ordinary realist who strains every nerve to draw out of plain common sense a philosophy with a sombre, intellectual look. In between the purely subjective and the purely objective, vedānta finds to my mind the reality of the world of experience. Life as it stands is not, I suspect, purely objective. Otherwise the same beautiful face would not have roused two different reactions in youth and old age. The stimulus is admittedly the same but, luckily or unluckily, the responso somewhat different. Shall I then say it is all subjective ? Perhaps not. There is obviously a stimulus which

is not subjective. I presume therefore that there is something of permanent importance in the Vedāntic attempt to cut the Gordian Knot between the subjective and the objective and to stumble on an intermediate realm of apparent reality which is another name for falsity.

In a paper published in the last issue of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan under the Caption : "The Doctrine of Māyā in Vedānta : What it implies", I have made an attempt to substantiate this thesis primarily by an analysis of the historical development of the idea of Māyā. In the present paper, I would like to throw some further light on the same topic by an analysis of the notion of falsity of the world in Gauḍapāda in whom Vedānta seems to take first the shape of a scholastic philosophy, of course, leaving aside the Brahma-Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa which leave scope for a variety of expositions, and in Śaṅkara, admittedly the greatest champion of vedānta.

Another weighty consideration has led me not to treat subjectivism as the burden of Vedānta. Its theoretic aspect apart, Vedānta is primarily a philosophy of life and I fear it cannot be accused of much love for reasoning for the sake of reasoning. Just like Sāṃkhya, its ultimate aim is to put to an end all miseries without the least residue. A merely objective attitude can never help achieve this. Compared with the vastness of reality, Bhūmā as the Upanishads call it, the whole world pales into insignificance. In the scale of values, it is the infinite bliss of reality that ultimately counts and not the small, trivial objective joys.

But unfortunately enough, mere subjectivism also cannot be of much help in life. As human beings with our intrinsic limitations, we are bound to feel the prick and pressure of the object even though we might in theory say 'no' to it. An objectivism toned down by subjectivism and a subjectivism toned down by objectivism is what man badly needs not only in his individual life but also in his collective deals. As far as I can see, viewed and understood rightly, this is what the familiar and much misunderstood notion of the falsity of the world in Vedānta really means and stands for. Even a hurried survey of the concept of falsity in Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara drives home, I apprehend, the

truth of the point I am trying to labour with the unfailing patience of a blind man obstinately groping in the dark in search of 'a black cat'.

It is well-known that among the traditional interpreters of Vedānta, Gauḍapāda seems to exhibit an extremely subjective bias. His celebrated work, Māndukya-Kārikā which is a rhymed exposition of the cryptic sayings of Māndukya-Upanishad gives a pre-eminently subjectivist account of Vedānta vis-a-vis the world of experience. To make a proper assessment of Gauḍapāda's subjectivism, it may be worth while to take a bird's eye-view of his momentous book.

It consists of four chapters. The first gives an account of the transcendental psychology of Vedānta, according to which, in the highest phase of consciousness, the world of experience ceases to exist. The second chapter follows up the same theme by putting its finger on the falsity of the world we live in. The third chapter throws further light on the same theme by elaborating at some length the notion of identity of the finite self with the absolute and the fourth draws out its practical bearing by a polemical analysis of the rival schools of philosophy. The sum and substance of the book is that the world of experience has a relative existence which has meaning and significance as long as the finite self is ignorant of the absolute.

This relative existence has three phases or, better say, three dimensions: the first is our waking consciousness, the second dream, and, the third, dreamless sleep. According to Gauḍapāda, these are the three grades of our normal experience. We see the world of objects before us while we are awake. In sleep, the external world of objects passes away from our vision. But even in sleep while we dream, we have a consciousness of objects. That is really an experience of freedom from the bondage and limitation of the waking life. In dream, while I am asleep in Dacca, I might feel that I am in London or New York. This shows that dream is not limited by the operations of our nervous system and our physical organs. This is why Śaṅkara points out that dream is a repudiation of the materialist theory that self is no other than the body. Some modern psychologists also find in dream an awareness of freedom. But that freedom is not a

freedom from the limitation of the body, but an escape from the pressure of the society.

But that is not all. What is more remarkable is that unlike many psychologists of the present and the past, Vedāntists maintain that beyond dream, there is a level of normal consciousness. This they call dreamless sleep. They maintain that dreamless sleep is also characterized by knowledge. We have, they argue, a memory of having slept in peace without knowing anything else. This memory must be the replica of a knowledge of ignorance cum uninterrupted bliss. Thus, there is some sort of consciousness even in dreamless sleep. So in one form or other, the world of experience exists in relation to the three levels of our normal consciousness. But this does not amount to its falsity.

There is however a fourth grade of consciousness beyond normal experience which seem to be the all important factor of the Vedāntic Psychology. In that stage of consciousness the individual becomes one with the absolute and, as such, the world of experience which is invariably related to the individual ceases to exist. The long and short of it is that the world of experience is a creature of individual fancy and it has no reality whatsoever in the absolute. Thus far, the position of Gaḍapāda is solipsism toned down by the recognition of the ultimate reality of the absolute in which the individual ultimately merges and in which there is not the least trace for the world of experience. If this is a correct assessment, the Vedāntic theory of falsity of the world, though not solipsism cent per cent, is indeed very near the latter.

In the light of his transcendental psychology Gaudapāda elaborates in the Second chapter of his Kārikā his notion of falsity. According to him, the world of waking awareness is false just like the world of dream. In dream we find, he argues, that a big elephant had entered the body of a man as a result of which his head fell on the ground. Such an experience is obviously absurd. A big elephant cannot enter into the small human body. This shows that the contents of dream are true only as long as the dream lasts. In one word, they are construction of our own mind. If dream contents are false because they are experienced, the world of waking life which is experienced can hardly be an exception. Gāuḍapāda maintains that

by their mutual exclusion, the world of waking and of dream cancel each other. Dream negates waking life and, as such, proves that it is false. Waking life, to the contrary, negates dream and proves its falsity. So by their mutual conflict, dream as well as waking consciousness are found to be false.

The world of experience does not exist according to Gauḍapāda even when it is felt. It is non-existent throughout. Like a hare's horn or a sky-lotus, it has no existence, it has never been created. There is hardly any difference between a hare's horn or a sky-lotus which is never experienced and the world of experience so far as their reality is concerned.

In the third chapter of his Kārikā, Gauḍapāda tries to explain at length the nature of the knowledge of the absolute which is another name for the identity of the individual with the absolute. Since the existence of the world of experience is related to the awareness of the finite self and since the finite self does not exist finally as distinct from the absolute, the world of experience does not exist. If there be no head, there could be no headache. If there is no finite self, there could be no world to be experienced by it. The existence of the world of experience is relative and conditional and its indispensable condition is the existence of the individual. Gauḍapāda thus carries to its farthest limit his solipsistic interpretation of Vedānta. True, he believes in the empirical reality of the world of experience but that empirical reality simply means subjective existence and it has nothing to do with the absolute which is transcendently real. That is why Gauḍapāda contends that just as the sky-lotus and the hare's horn are purely non-existent and, as such, cannot be created ; the world of experience is also non-existent and was never created. Even by the help of 'Māyā', the magical power of the absolute, the non-existent cannot be created. Gauḍapāda observes that the world of experience which is no better than a barren woman's son cannot be produced either really or as a product of illusion.¹ Gauḍapāda's view of the falsity of the world of experience rings like the theory of Prakāśānanda propounded centuries after according to which the world exists as long as we perceive it (Dṛṣṭi-Sṛṣṭi-Vāda).

1. Māṇḍukya-kārikā : 3, 28.

In the last and fourth chapter of his 'Kārikā', Gauḍapāda first of all refutes the theories of the various rival schools of medieval Indian philosophy. He has made a very humorous suggestion in this regard. Fight among the opponents of Vedānta according to him shows that their theories are wrong, and the only sound theory is their common rival, the Vedāntic theory of the absolute. Without meaning any disrespect to Gauḍapāda, it may, however, be observed that his argument cuts both ways and might be applied by a particular school of dualist philosophy against Vedānta itself. Any way, this argument does not seem to mean much except its humorous significance. It is after all a wise man's trick. To say the least Gauḍapāda's greatness is more constructive than polemical.

As has been already pointed out, the primary aim of the fourth chapter of his Kārikā is practical. In it, Gauḍapāda very rightly describes the practical aspect of the knowledge of the absolute which he calls after the Buddhists Alāta-Śānti. It substantially means the cessation of the magic of Māyā, Will-o-the-wisp that perpetually baffles us. It vanishes only when we know the absolute and become merged in it.

This gives a very brief and also perhaps a defective account of the main theme of the 'Māndukya-Kārikā' of Gauḍapāda which is not only the earliest but a most important philosophical work of Vedānta on which Śāṅkara himself wrote an elaborate commentary.

Gauḍapāda's extreme subjectivism may be partly due to Buddhist influence on him, which cannot possibly be altogether ruled out. There is a raging controversy among scholars over the influence of Śūnyavāda Buddhism of Nāgārjuna and others on Gauḍapāda. On the ground that the very name Alāta-Śānti of the fourth chapter of the Kārikā is a Buddhist concept, that certain familiar Buddhist phrases occur in it that there is some palpable similarity between Gauḍapāda's Alāta-śānti or the cessation of Māyā and Buddhist Nirvāṇa, it has been held that the whole of this chapter is really a separate, Buddhist work. Others have said that a mere similarity of expressions does not mean much as they do not mean substantially the same thing in Buddhism and Gauḍapāda's philosophy. Some of those terms are traceable

they contend in some Hindu works which are not admittedly of a Buddhist origin. For example, the expression, 'Dvipadāmbara' which literally means a great man and is generally addressed in Buddhist literature to Buddha has been applied to Bhiṣma in the Mahābhārata. Leaving aside such hair-splitting debates on the meaning of some expressions, it may, however, be observed that the very idea of Māyā which dominates Vedānta philosophy from Gauḍapāda to Śaṅkara and downwards to this day is, according to many, a basic Buddhist concept. In his introduction to Sāṃkhya Prabachana-Vāṣya, Vijñānavikṣu quotes the authority of Padmāpurāṇa to prove that the theory of Māyā represents a bad scriptural tradition as it is a hidden, Buddhist concept. This not only shows the animosity between the Buddhist and the Hindu philosophers at a particular phase of parallel growth of philosophical thought but it also indicates that the notion of 'Māyā' which is the root cause of miseries so far as the individual is concerned is a basic concept of Buddhist philosophy. In fact, in its scheme of worldly life (Bhavachakra), Avidyā or ignorance occupies the first place and Māyā so far as it puts the individual in bondage is no other than Avidyā or ignorance. So far as individual is concerned, Māyā is a trap, so far as God or the universal consciousness is concerned, it is a play-thing, a toy-machine which gives delight and generates joy.

Gauḍapāda wrote his Kārikā in the 7th Century A. D. or near about and Buddhist Śūnyavāda of Nāgārjuna and others began to flourish from the second century A. D. downwards. It is but very natural that during the course of these five centuries, Buddhist Śūnyavāda, exerted some influence on the traditional Upanishadic thought and the traditional Upanishadic thought exerted some influence on Buddhist philosophical thought, more particularly Śūnyavāda.

Contemporary exponents of Śūnyavāda do not treat it as Nihilism or the theory of nothingness. On the contrary, they maintain that the Śūnya of the Buddhists implies that reality cannot be described in terms of intellectual categories. That this is more or less the case cannot perhaps be doubted. Nāgārjuna in his Mūlā-Mādyama-Kārikā describes the dependent origination of Buddhism

as devoid of the world of five elements (Prapanchopaśamam) and also as the embodiment of the highest value (Śivam). Obviously enough, a conception of freedom or release has much in common with the absolute of Vedānta devoid of plurality of facts and constituted by eternal bliss which is the highest value of life. It is hardly too much to say that Gauḍapāda was influenced by Śūnyavāda. But it should not be forgotten either that Śūnyavāda itself was influenced by the notion of the indeterminate absolute of Vedānta.

The Hindu and Jaina critics of Śūnyavāda do not interpret the Śūnya of the Buddhists as something positive. They have said almost invariably that nothing cannot be the ultimate stuff of reality since all negation must ultimately lead to a positive back-ground. Though the Śūnya of the Buddhists does not to my mind mean in the final analysis mere nothing even Buddhists themselves do not at times fight shy of it. In this connection a humorous comment of Chandrakīrti comes back to my mind. In defence of nothing he says that those who argue that nothing cannot be the ultimate reality because it must be based on something may be compared to that beggar who, when he was told that he would be given nothing, pleaded that if it is not possible to give him something, he should at least be given nothing. This shows, if anything at all, that the indescribable character of śūnya in Nāgārjuna might more or less be an Upanishadic contribution to Buddhism and if Gauḍapāda is influenced by Nāgārjuna, it is not after all an influence of an alien trend of thought. But leaving aside all other similarities of expression, it should perhaps be said that repeated reference in the fourth chapter of Gauḍapāda's Kārikā to Buddha perhaps indicate that under the direct influence of the Upanishads, Gauḍapāda was really eager to find out a meeting ground of Buddha's teachings and the Upanishads which we miss much even in śaṃkara.

I myself believe that if Gauḍapāda has made an Upanishadic approach to Buddhism, at least five centuries earlier, Nāgārjuna in his Kārikā made a Buddhist approach to the Upanishadic thought. The question of relative superiority does not interest me. It smacks of parochialism and runs counter to a common sense analysis of the

history of Buddhism and Vedānta. If at least five centuries' interaction has apparently widened their gulf in certain respects, I am convinced in a very real sense, in certain other important respects, it has brought them closer. The Buddhist influence on Gauḍapāda and the Upanishadic influence on Nāgārjuna should be looked at from this perspective.

The subjectivism of Gauḍapāda appears on a close analysis to be mainly due to the unimportant role ascribed to the cosmic consciousness (Īśvara) in his philosophy. This could with ease be determined by an analysis of the four grades of consciousness round which his philosophy, more particularly, his idea of falsity of the world of experience, veer. Throughout his searching analysis of the grades of consciousness, he seems to make the universal dependent on the individual. There is a cosmic waking life corresponding to the waking life of the individual. With due modification, corresponding to the dream of the individual and his dreamless sleep, there is also a cosmic consciousness of dream and a cosmic consciousness of dreamless sleep. But which of these two facets of experience is more important in Gauḍapāda? Possibly not the universal consciousness, but the individual on which it is dependent. May be, this is due to the practical approach of Gauḍapāda whose primary concern is not to draw a picture of reality, but to show a way out of ignorance, and the interminable miseries that result from it. Śaṅkara rightly points out in the concluding verse of his commentary to Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā that the main task of Gauḍapāda was to churn the vast ocean of Vedic wisdom in order to show poor mortals steeped in miseries the road to eternal bliss which is unknown even to the angels.

Here also there is a trace of Buddhist influence. Inspired by a practical motive, Buddha leaves aside theoretic controversies of metaphysics and maintains that ignorance or Avidyā is the cause of all miseries. Those who have not been able to attain illumination (Bodhi), those who have not been able to attain Nirvana are the victims of this ignorance. There is not much attempt to determine whether this ignorance is individual or universal, or a curious mixture of both, because the main purpose is to get out of it. As Buddha himself observes with touching earnestness that the primary duty of a man pierced on his back

by a poisoned arrow is to get it extricated instantaneously by somebody nearby and not to indulge in the geneology and other particulars of the latter. Under the pressure of the world of public facts we live in at times in Buddhist philosophy, there is an appeal to the universal. Vijñāna-Vāda Buddhism, for example, finding it difficult to reduce objects of experience into the ideas of the individual mind maintains more or less like Berkeley that the ultimate repository of the ideas is a universal mind, Ālaya-Vijñāna. Notwithstanding his primarily subjectivist attitude Gauḍapāda himself at times ascribes an important role to the universal consciousness. When confronted with the question of the origin of the world of experience which is according to him purely false and has not been really created, he observes, that it is the product of the magic of the universal consciousness. As he himself puts it "By his own Māyā or magic, that great reality has conjectured the world of experience in him."¹

This prick and pressure of objectivism is visible here and there in Gauḍapāda. Due to his extreme subjectivism, he has tried to put on a par the contents of dream and of waking life. He has also made, as has already been pointed out, dream the ground of falsity of waking life and waking life the ground of falsity of dream. But nevertheless owing to the hard pressure of the world of waking life, he was ultimately, forced to draw a line of demarcation between dream and waking awareness. He admits that the contents of dream are private facts which exist as long as we experience them. To quote his own phrase, they are "Chittakālā"² But the objects of waking life exist even after we have ceased to experience them. They are real for us as well as far others (Dvayakālah)³

There is an admission at least tacit of the objective status of the world of experience in Gauḍapāda's assessment of the traditional ethics of ritualism and worship which forms an important aspect of the Vedic cult in which Gauḍapāda believes. When at the fourth stage of consciousness, the individual loses himself

1. Māṇdukya-Kārikā : 2,12.

2. Māṇdukya-Kārikā : 2,14.

3. Māṇdukya-Kārikā : 2,14

in the absolute devoid of the world of experience, there is neither worshipper nor the worshipped, in brief, no awareness of plurality without which worship and other religious rites are impossible. Being inspired with this idea, the Upanishads declare : "Reality is not that which you worship". (Nedaṁ Yadidamupāsate). But even then out of respect for the Vedic tradition, Gauḍapāda maintains that the knowledge of Reality or the self is of two types : the primary and the secondary. Primary knowledge is the knowledge of the identity of the individual self with the absolute, the secondary knowledge, the knowledge of the finite self as engaged in worship and ritualist practices enjoined by the Vedas. This knowledge has some importance because it is a stepping-stone to the knowledge of ultimate reality (Sa Avatāraya).¹ That Gauḍapāda was directly or indirectly aware of the hard reality of the world of facts is also evidenced by his suggestion that for the sake of the knowledge of the absolute, the individual steeped in the bondage of ignorance must control his mind slowly and steadily with great care and attention. With X-raying insight into human weakness, he compares this discipline to an attempt to exhaust the ocean by persistently taking drops out of it.

That in the heart of his hearts he believes in the relatively durable reality of the world of experience is also evident from his attitude to the rival schools of philosophy. With the serenity of a man of wisdom, he retorts that he does not like to enter into a duel with his opponents² since consistently with the ultimate reality of the absolute devoid of plurality he believes in the relative existence of the world of facts in whose analysis the rival schools of philosophers are primarily interested. In other words, though they are not trying to come to grip with the ultimate reality, so far as they deal with relative truth, they need not be much disturbed.

The best and the most unambiguous indication of this undertone of objectivism in Gauḍapāda is found in his assessment of the world of the experience with its background, the absolute which alone is ultimately real. He says that the world of experience

(1) Māndukya-kārikā : 3, 15.

(2) Māndukya-kārikā : 4, 5.

conjectured by the absolute through the magic of its *Māyā* is neither different from nor identical with it.¹ The world of experience cannot be altogether different from the absolute because in that case it will be rooted simply in individual fancy. Obviously it cannot be identical with the absolute because in that case it will be as real as the latter and thus take away from the indeterminate character of the absolute devoid of all plurality.

When we take note of this under-current of objectivism in *Gauḍapāda*, we find it difficult to concede to his extremely solipsist attitude on the surface. If his thesis is that the absolute has conjectured the world of experience in it and if, as he argues perhaps rightly, that the unreal (*Asat*) cannot be produced even by the magic of *Māyā*, the world of experience though ultimately unreal must stand in between the utterly unreal, for example, the sky-flower and the absolutely real, for example, the absolute of *Vedānta*. To be more plain, the world of experience becomes then endowed with an inexplicable character not capable of being described either as real (*Sat*) or unreal (*Asat*) as *Śaṃkara* would have us believe. If this be the case, *Gauḍapāda*'s view of the world cannot be described as *Ajātavāda* i. e. the theory that the world of experience has never been created. On the contrary, it must be admitted that being something different from the purely non-existent, the world of experience has been somehow conjectured by the absolute in its bosom without the least detriment to its indeterminate character.

It is well-known that even though in their practical attitude *Gauḍapāda* and *Śaṃkara* exhibit complete unanimity, in their theoretic attitude, more precisely, in their assessment of the metaphysical status of the world of experience, there is a palpable difference. Without doubt, for both, the world of experience is ultimately unreal and the absolute, the only reality. But even then the main tendency in *Gauḍapāda* is to treat the world of experience as nonexistent (*Asat*) while that of *Śaṃkara* is to look upon it as inexplicable (*Anirvachanīya*). Possibly because of this, *Gauḍapāda* does not like to draw a line of demarcation between dream and waking life except when he is forced to. But *Śaṃkara* does this

(1) *Māṇḍukya-kārikā* : 2, 34.

clearly and without any ambiguity in his refutation of the subjective idealism of the Buddhists in his commentary to *Brahma-Śūtras* of *Vādarāyaṇa* whose view that there is a difference between dream and waking life in their existential status he accepts. Śaṁkara also says in that context that in the waking life, there is an awareness of object, whereas in dream which is memory pure and simple, there is none. He observes that it is not possible to establish the non-existence of the objects of experience on the analogy of dream because we are aware of them in our waking life.¹ So the long and short of it is that Śaṁkara does not, like Gauḍapāda, maintain that world of experience is a dream pure and simple, "a city of celestial musicians"² seen in dream but a veritable reality of a more durable character. I need hardly repeat that on a close analysis it is found that there is such a recognition hidden in Gauḍapāda himself.

But even though this implication of *Māyāvāda* has been more fully drawn out by Śaṁkara than Gauḍapāda, its full implication to my mind remains to be discovered in the light of certain significant hints of Śaṁkara. With this end in view, I would like to make a brief survey of the theory that the world of experience is false (*Mithyā*) as well as inexplicable (*Anirvachanīya*), false because it is cancelled when the absolute is known and inexplicable because even though ultimately unreal it is felt as real. In this baffling theory lies hidden, I believe, the attempt of Śaṁkara and his followers to cut the middle ground between extreme subjectivism and extreme objectivism. If, as has already been pointed out, the best practical philosophy is a healthy compromise of subjectivism and objectivism, it is a matter of great practical importance to assess the exact attitude of the traditional *Vedānta* to the world "we live, move, and have our being" in.

Even though the *Vedāntists* strained every nerve to keep off from the view that the object of experience is not an idea in the mind or its perceiver, an impression has gained ground among its critics and, sometimes at least, among its own advocates that the world of experience is a creature of individual fancy. The main question to consider is whether the world of experience is rooted in

1. Śaṁkāra's commentary to *Brahma Śūtra* : 2, 2, 28. and 2,2,29

2. *Māndukya-Kārika* : 2, 31.

individual imagination or in the absolute. Even if it is he said that the world of experience is rooted in the former, as there is an almost endless variety of individuals, it cannot be said that the world of experience vanishes as soon as a particular individual attains liberation and loses its distinctive existence in the absolute. Again, as there is invariably the universal or the cosmic consciousness corresponding to the individual, as long as there are individuals, there must be a universal consciousness as its inevitable counterpart. So it comes to this that along with individual consciousness, there will and must be a universal or cosmic consciousness. If that be the case, could we not look at the matter from the opposite angle? Could we not say instead that the individual consciousness is dependent on the cosmic? If we could do this as, I think, we should, the cosmic consciousness will cease to be a shadow of the individual and the individual consciousness will appear as a fragment of the cosmic consciousness. Judged from this angle, the centre of gravity in traditional Vedānta in its assessment of the existential status of the world of experience should shift from individual consciousness to the universal. When even an extreme subjectivist like Gaḍapāda maintains that the world of experience is neither different nor identical with the absolute and when Śaṅkara says that the Cosmic consciousness (Īśvara) is neither different from nor identical with its background, the indeterminate absolute, and, as such, is something inexplicable, both of them possibly feel that the world of experience should not only be looked at from the perspective of the individual, but also, perhaps much better, from the perspective of the universal consciousness.

But it is feared often enough that if the world of experience is rooted in reality, it will be a burden on the indeterminate absolute and make it determinate. The fear, though unfounded, haunts the large majority of the traditional Vedāntists in spite of their objectivist leanings. I do not think apparent reality or relative existence could be added to transcendental or absolute reality. We can explain this by a familiar example from our normal experience. Often enough in darkness we mistake the rope for a snake but that illusory snake cannot add to the existence of the rope. Much in the same manner, the world of experience which is apparently real,

to quote the stock-expression of Vedānta, which being neither real nor unreal, is inexplicable and indescribable cannot possibly add to the reality of the absolute. I can cite another example, possibly a better one to clarify the position. If a rich man's son weeps bitterly over his assumed poverty on the stage to the great anguish of his audience, this does not really make him a poor man and take away from his richness. Speaking precisely, the rich man's son while retaining his reality in tact appears as a poor man just out of free choice and delight. Much in the same manner, the absolute which is really devoid of the world of experience plays the role of a universal dramatist and appears as the world of experience retaining its full being in tact. Possibly from this angle, the Upanishads declare that the absolute has become the world without the least sacrifice of its essence since an addition to the infinite does not make it richer and a subtraction out of it does not mean any loss to it.

Many advocates of Vedānta, not to speak of its critics, could not understand this. This is why very often they press for a complete similarity between individual experience and cosmic consciousness in their metaphysical status. Vedāntists have almost always said that nothing can be false unless it is actually cancelled or negated by a subsequent experience. The rope-snake is false, they say, because it is negated by the experience of the rope and the experience of the rope is false because it is negated by the knowledge of the absolute. Thus, actual negation or cancellation has almost always been taken to be the infallible mark of falsity. Luckily or unluckily, the same rule does not apply to the Cosmic consciousness. It is the individual consciousness which is negated by the knowledge of the absolute and not the cosmic consciousness. Till all individuals are liberated, the cosmic consciousness cannot be negated. Universal liberation (Sarvamukti) is a desire of the large heart. But it can never be realised as a fact. So in the final analysis, there is an admission in Vedānta that the indeterminate absolute will eternally appear as the world of experience. This is why it has been said that the cosmic consciousness has no bondage, as unlike the finite individual, it has an awareness of its background, the transcendent absolute devoid of

the world of experience. From this it follows that in the final analysis Vedānta maintains that an indeterminate absolute which is the substratum of an apparently real cosmic consciousness is the Reality. Thus, the compatibility of the apparent reality of the cosmic consciousness with the transcendent reality of the absolute is the last word of Vedāntic metaphysics.

From this angle, not real cancellation but ideal cancellation, to be more plain, cancellability is the infallible mark of an appearance and its falsity. So the cosmic consciousness which is never actually but always ideally cancelled in the absolute is false even though it is never negate. Consistently with the unqualified monism of Vedānta, we can therefore recognize the unconditional reality of the absolute and apparent reality of the cosmic whole rooted in it. If the cosmic whole is thus cancelled only ideally and never actually, the world of experience which is grounded in it ceases to be a mere conjecture of the finite individual, even though it has no ultimate reality.

I do not think this is substantially a departure from the main thesis of traditional Vedānta according to which a content is false because of its being a datum of experience, *Dr̥ṣyatva* as they put it. The only difference is while they maintain that a datum of experience is false because it is cancelled by a subsequent experience, I have been led to hold consistently with the main theme of Vedānta that it is not actual cancellation but cancellability that makes a content false. Cancellability is the substance of an appearance, actual cancellation is its expression. Their difference is more or less like the difference of implication and inference in Modern logic. Implication means that certain conclusion follows from certain premises whether we know it or not. When we know this, we call it inference. Whether I know this or not, if all men are mortal and Socrates is a man, he must be mortal. It makes little difference whether I know this truth. Much like this, an appearance is false because it is cancellable. We lean on actual cancellation only to discover the cancellability of a content but it cannot be said that actual cancellation makes an appearance false. It simply determines its falsity. It is only an occasion for ascertaining it.

I presume the familiar rope-snake is not made false by the subsequent experience of the rope. It is false because there is some-

thing basically defective and wrong about it. I would like to extend as far as I could this analogy to the cosmic consciousness in which the world of experience is finally rooted. The world of experience is false not simply because it is cancelled for an individual who is lost in the absolute but because any admission of its unconditional reality militates against the indeterminate character of the absolute.

If an appearance is an appearance for me, I can say that its felt reality as well as its falsity are dependent on my experience. Rope-snake, for example, is an appearance for me and its subsequent negation also is an experience of mine pure and simple which has meaning and significance for me alone. But this is not the case with an appearance which is not only an appearance for me but for others as well. For example, the rope is an appearance for Tom, Dick and Harry alike and if Tom becomes aware of the absolute one fine morning and becomes one with it, the rope-appearance will remain for myriads of Dicks and Harrys. So what is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose. In other words, actual cancellation cannot be the infallible criterion of the falsity of the world of experience. It is not their actual cancellation but cancellability that really matters. In pressing too far, the analogy of the individual's private world and the public world in which we live, some Vedāntists have against their own intention given an undue subjective colour to the world of appearance, the world of solid hard facts which faces us as a finished reality and from whose tight grip we have been striving hard to get out like the foolish man who caught hold of a ferocious bear under the impression that it is a floating blanket.

It is a familiar fact of Logic that no inference could really be based on perfect similarity of the various illustrations of its fundamental principle. If I am entitled to say that the yonder mountain contains fire because it contains smoke only if the smoke that I previously experienced, say in the kitchen and other places, is entirely identical with the smoke that I perceive now in the mountain, it will be difficult to make any inference whatsoever. It is not absolute identity but substantial agreement of the various cases of the ground of an inference that determines its validity. Viewed rightly, therefore, to prove the falsity of the world of experience, it is not necessary to show that it is an exact parallel of the illusions of the private world of an individual, but that there is

substantial agreement between them. This substantial agreement is constituted, to my mind, by cancellability of contents which are false and not necessarily by their actual cancellation.

I, therefore, believe that if we could get rid of this preference for perfect similarity and visualize before imagination that a rope not only appears as a snake to an outside experienter but to itself, a better idea of the metaphysical status of the world of experience and the cosmic consciousness in which it is rooted could be gained. It is my considered view that the rôle of a dramatist or a magician, who projects false appearance not only to outside observers but in his own being, explains better the existential status of the world of experience than illusions like a rope-snake or a shell-silver which has no significance for the rope in one case and the piece of silver in the other. To my best judgement, this is the real implication of the hints of objectivism in the pre-eminently subjective philosophy of Gauḍapāda and the notion of inexplicability of appearances in Śaṅkara.

Such a reading of appearance has a profound practical significance for modern man with whom the world has become a "too much," to quote the well-known phrase of Wordsworth. If the world we live in is utterly unreal, broad, human sympathy has no significance. This can at most generate an isolationist attitude which could be beneficial only for a few. It fails us as a workable gospel in our collective life. Again, if the world we live in is utterly real, we feel inclined to cling to it so much that we do not hesitate to rob our good neighbour of his daily bread. Too much of bad realism has made modern life in its wider perspective almost unliveable. Almost all of us live in an atmosphere heavily laden with tension and conflict. The way out is neither other-worldliness nor wordliness but a detachment that makes us live in the world but not to be of it. The recognition of the apparent reality of the world will put a brake on our selfishness and the consciousness that it is not a figment of imagination will generate in us a dispassionate love for all that has spark of life in it, more particularly, for the human species. In this nuclear age with its immense destructive possibilities which nationalist patriotism and group alliances based on sectional ideologies cannot check, this

attitude of love and sympathy can alone unite the human house divided against itself and place it on a secure foundation. I do not, therefore, think that Vedānta philosophy is a matter merely of antiquarian interest but it has a lesson for man's present more particularly, for his future.

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THE BUDDHIST TEACHING OF METTĀ OR MAITRI.

P. R. Barua

Mettā is generally rendered into English by friendliness, but it is more akin to kindness and love than simply friendliness. Mettā is one of the pāramīs or 'perfections' to be fulfilled by a Bodhisatta or Buddha-to-be in future. The pāramīs or pāramitās are ten in number in Pali literature while they are said to be six in Sanskrit Buddhist literature. This is clearly evident from counting Mettā as the ninth pāramī (navamam mettā pāramim) and ending the enumeration with upekkhā the tenth pāramī occurring after mettā in the cariyāpitaka commentary of Ācariya-dhammapāla¹. The ten pāramīs as enumerated in Theravāda Buddhism are :- dāna (alms-giving), śīla (morality), nekkhamma (renunciation), paññā (wisdom), viriya (energy), khanti (forbearance), sacca (truth), aditthāna (resolution), mettā (friendliness) and upekkhā (indifference). The six pāramitās as known in Sanskrit Buddhist tradition are:- Dāna (almas-giving), śīla (precepts), Kshānti (forbearance) vīrya (energy), Dhyāna (meditation) and prajñā (knowledge). To make it ten the following four pāramitās are to be added viz. Upaya (expediency), prapñidhāna (determination), bala (strength) and jñāna (wisdom). It will be noticed that mettā-pāramī is omitted from the list of Mahāyāna Buddhism which is recognised as the ninth pāramī in Theravāda Buddhism.² Each of the pāramitās is however practised by a Bodhisatta in three degrees of intensity, namely (i) the ordinary, (ii) the inferior and (iii) the unlimited. As, for example, Dāna-pāramī, dāna-upapāramī and dāna-paramattha pāramī. So also all the rest. A Bodhisatta after having fulfilled the ten pāramitās in all the three degrees of their intensity, advances in birth after birth till the attainment of perfect Enlightenment (sammā-sambodhi). As a matter of fact, the attain-

1. Ācariya Dhammapāla, *Cariyapitakatthakatha*, p. 7

2. As a matter of fact, in conformity with its teaching metta has been replaced by Karuna (compassion) in Mahājān.

ment of Bodhā is the result of the vast accumulation of merit in the course of the exercise of the pāramitās by the Bodhisatta in his previous births.

In order to attain perfection he is to fulfil these ten pāramitās. He had to undergo several births to fulfil each pāramitā, as we find in the Jātakas. Not only all the previous Buddhas had to fulfil these pāramitās in order to attain Buddhahood, but the great Sākya sage prince Siddhārtha also had to fulfil them in order to become an omniscient Buddha. We read in the Jātaka-Nidānakatha ¹ that Bodhisatta Sumedha fulfilled these ten pāramitās in their degrees of intensity before he finally attained Buddhahood and the pāramitās were the only means of attaining perfection by Prince Siddhārtha before he finally came to be designated as the Buddha, or fully awakened one.

The Bodhisatta born as the son of the Blind sage (Andhamuni) named Suvanna-sāma as told in the Sāma-Jātaka ² is an instance of how the Bodhisatta exercised the virtue of friendliness (mettā-pāramitā) towards his foe even when he was aimed and shot at by king Piliyakkha of Benares. This is in fact the Pali counterpart of the Rāmāyana story of the Blind sage ³ whose son was inadvertently aimed at and subsequently killed by king Daśaratha while hunting deer in the forest. But unlike the Rāmāyana story no curse, no rebuke escapes from the lips of the dying Sāma upon the penitent king, although there was none to look after and wait upon his blind parents. Such is the mettā or maitri cultivated by the Bodhisatta. So also the Bodhisatta born as Ekarāja in the Ekarāja-Jātaka ⁴ describes how the Bodhisatta practised the virtue of friendliness and compassion towards his foe when king Dabbasena invaded and conquered his kingdom. He looked upon his enemy as his most affectionate son for the fulfilment of mettā-pāramitā (mettāya me samo na'tthi, esā me mettā pārami).

1. Jātakatthavarmanā edited by V. Fausboll, Vol. 1, p. 8.

2. Jātaka Vol. VI, No. 540

3. Rāmāyana II, 3

4. Jātaka III, 303

A tale may be told here in illustration of one of the examples of the Bodhisatta's supreme exercise of mettā-pāramitā.

Once upon a time, so the story goes, king Brahmadatta was ruling at Benares. The Bodhisatta was born in this household as the son of his chief queen and they named him Prince Brahmadatta. Now in those days it was customary to kings and nobles to send their sons to foreign countries for the purpose of quelling their pride and highhandedness and be acquainted with the ways of the world. Even so when prince Brahmadatta was sixteen years old, the king called him and giving him a thousand pieces of money, a pair of sunshades and a pair of one soled sandals sent him to Takkasilā (Taxila) for his study there. The boy took leave of his parents and in due time arrived at Taxila. He then enquired of his teacher's house and reached it just at the time when the teacher had finished his lecture and was walking up and down at the door of his house. When the boy saw the teacher, he took off his shoes, closed his sunshade and after respectful greetings approached him. The teacher found that the boy was weary and welcomed the new-comer. The boy after taking his meal and resting a little returned to the teacher and stood respectfully by him. "Where have you come from" ? -asked the teacher, - "I come from Benares". - "Whose son are you ?" "I am the son of the king of Benares". "What brings you here ?" - "I come to learn". - "Have you brought the teacher's fee or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you ?" "I have brought a fee with me" replied the lad and he laid his purse of a thousand pieces of money at the teacher's feet. The resident pupils used to attend on their teacher by day and at night they learnt to him. But those pupils who brought the tuition fees were treated like the eldest sons in the family and they thus used to learn. Accordingly this teacher also, like the rest, gave schooling to this prince. Thus the young prince was taught.

Now one day the boy went to take his bath along with his teacher. There was an old woman who had prepared some white seeds and was parching them having strewn them out before her. The youth looked upon these seeds and desiring to eat some of them picked up a handful and ate them. The old woman saw this and thinking "this fellow might be hungry" said nothing but remaind

silent. Next day the same thing happened at the same time. But the old woman said nothing this time also ; on the third day he did it again and the old woman cried out, "The great teacher is letting his pupil rob me". Thus she raised a lamentation uplifting both her arms. The teacher turned back and asked her about the matter. The woman replied, "Master, I have been parching some seeds and your pupil took a handful of them and ate. This he has done today, he did it yesterday, and he did it the day before yesterday. Surely he will rob me out of house and home". "Don't cry mother, I will see that you are paid"- "Oh master I want no payment, only teach your pupil not to do it again", replied the woman - "See here, then, mother",- said the teacher and struck his pupil thrice on the back with a bamboo stick, bidding him to take care not to do it again.

The prince was very angry with his teacher and eyed him from his head to foot with an angry look. The teacher observed how he was angry and how he eyed him. However, the youth applied himself to work and finished his courses in due time. But the offence he hid in his heart and he was determined to murder his teacher; so when he finished his courses, he took leave of his teacher and extracted a promise from him to the effect that when he would acquire the kingdom of Benares, he would send for the teacher and the teacher would come to him.

Thereafter the prince returned to Benares and showed proof to his parents of what he had learnt. The king became very pleased with his son and made him king in his stead. Thus when the prince got the kingdom of Benares, he remembered his grudge "I will be the death of that fellow", he thought and sent a messenger to bring him. But the teacher thinking that he will not be able to appease him while young did not come at first, but when his pupil's rule was half over, he came and stood at the gate and sent a message that the teacher from Takkasila had arrived. Then the king became very glad at the news thinking that he would now take revenge on him. "To-day his life must end" he thought and anger rose within him. "The place where my teacher struck still hurts me." But when the teacher told him that this

was for discipline and not out of anger, the king was appeased. The teacher further told that if he was not taught in this way for the white seeds, then he would have been turned a highway robber, and by degrees he would commit acts of stealing other's articles, house-breaking and plundering of villages, whereupon he would be taken before the king as a public enemy and be punished by the king for his acts of theft. Then wherefrom this splendor of royalty and all this prosperity would come? Is it not through the teacher that all this prosperity and enjoyment come? The courtiers also opined that all of the king's magnificence really belonged to the teacher. At this the king recognised the goodness of his teacher and offered all his wealth and power to the teacher. But teacher refused it saying "I have no desire for the kingdom, Sire." Therefore the king sent for the teacher's family at Takkasila and gave them power and wealth and made his teacher the royal priest. He treated him like his father and obeyed his admonitions all through his life and after death he fared according to his deeds.

This is the tale of how the Bodhisatta practised the supreme exercise of mettā-pāramitā as told in the Tilameeṭṭhi-Jātaka¹ of the Jataka Book. It may be observed that here we have also a glimpse of ancient Indian education especially the education of princes and nobles at the University of Taxila, the great seat of learning in those olden days.

How the Bodhisatta fulfilled mettā-pāramitā by cherishing love and friendliness towards his friends and foes alike is illustrated at some great length in the suvaṇṇasāma-cariyam² (cf. Jataka VI, 540) and the Ekarājacariyam³ (cf. Jataka III, 303) of the Cariyā-piṭaka, which presents a brief and systematic accounts of the Buddhist pāramitās, though references are found here and there in different works of the Pali Canon.

The touching story of Prince "Long-lived" (Dighāvū) as told in the Vinaya-pitaka (Mahāvagga X, 2, 3-20)⁴ who attempt-

1. Jataka II, 252
2. Cariyapitaka, p. 10
3. Cariyapitaka, p. 12
4. See jat No. 371 & 428 cf. Kosambi & upakhilesa-suttas in the Majjhima 1,48; III, 128, V. T, S. B. E. 17, pp. 273ff.

ted to avenge the death of his father Dīghiti-kosala on king Brahmadatta of Benares, but sheathed his sword remembering his father's admonition at the moment of death, is too well-known to be mentioned here. His father told him "Do not look too long, my dear Dighāvū, do not look too short, my dear Dighāvū, for hatred does not cease by hatred, it ceases by non-hatred". The implication of this enigmatic phrase is this. 'Do not look long' means let not one's hatred or enmity last long. "Do not look short" means that one should not be hasty to fall out with his friends; 'For not by hatred is hatred appeased, hatred is ceased by non-hatred' means that king Brahmadatta of Benares killed the father and mother of prince Dighāvū of Kosala. Therefore, if Prince Dighāvū would deprive king Brahmadatta of life when he was at his grip, then the king's party would deprive Dighāvū of his life and in like manner his people would deprive the king's people of their lives. In this way hatred will not be ceased by hatred, but it will be increased further. But since kind Brahmadatta granted the life of Prince Dighāvū, Prince Dighāvū also spared the life of king Brahmadatta and thus hatred has been appeased by non-hatred and the absence of hatred stopped further happenings of hatred between them. In this way hatred can be appeased by love or maitri (friendliness and compassion).

As the Dhammapada¹ teaches :-

Na hi verena verāni sammantīdha kudācanam,

Averena ca sammanti- esa Dhammo sanantano.

Hatred does not cease by hatred; it ceases by non-hatred. This is the law eternal. This is the good old rule that none can conquer by hatred but by love and amity.

The Buddha imbued the robber Aṅgulimāla with the idea of love (mettā) and the notorious highway robber was converted to be a spiritual wayfarer. It was a notable incident in the twentieth year of his ministry that the Buddha converted the robber Aṅgulimāla who was once a terror to the country. When king Pasenadi of Kosala went forth with his army to subdue him, he found the bandit had become a monk satisfied

with his three robes only and perfectly calm in his demeanour.

Aṅgulimāla, the ‘finger wreathed’, was the son of the Brahmin Bhaggava of the Gārga gotra (clan) and his wife Mantāni (skt. Maitrāyanī) and so he was called Gagga-Mantani-putta, son of Gagga and Mantani in the Aṅgulimāla-sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya¹. His legend tells us that the child was sent to Takkasilā for his education and his teacher on the completion of his studies demanded from him a thousand human fingers as his honorarium, whereupon he waylaid travellers in the Jālīni forest in Kosala and killing men after men used to wear their fingers round his neck and thereby came to be known as Aṅgulimāla, the finger garland.

One day when the Buddha was going to Sāvatti to beg his alms, Aṅgulimāla followed to catch him, but the Buddha by the exercise of his love (Mettā) caused him to stand still and so Aṅgulimāla was unable to catch him even after running rapidly. At last he cried out in anger ‘stop monk’¹ The Buddha replied to him that he had already stopped, but Aṅgulimāla was always running and could not stand still. Aṅgulimāla was spell-bound at the utterance of this enigma and asked the Buddha as to what does it mean and the Buddha answered him in verse :—

“I stand still, Aṅgulimāla, in every wise ;
Towards all living things have I laid aside violence ;
But thou to all living things art unrestrained ;
Therefore I stand still and thou standest not.”

Mettā is one of the four Brahma-Vihāras characterised as the Seṭṭha-vihāras or sublime behaviour on earth in the karaniyametta-sutta of the kuddaka-pāṭha² as well as the sutta Nipāta³ of the pāli canon. It is in fact the first of the four Brahmavihāras, the other three being Karuṇā (compassion), Muditā (equanimity) and upekkhā (indifference). The metta-sutta in fact is the sutta on Buddhist unbounded friendliness towards all beings irrespective of whether born or to be born, long or short or medium sized,

1. Majjhima II, PP 104-105. Dhammapada Commentary III, 169 ;
cf R. Hardy-Maual of Buddhism, PP257-61 ; Theragāthā, ch XX.

2. Khuddaka Pāṭha, 9.

3. Sutta-Nipāta, culavagga.

whether on land or sea. The practice is aptly compared in the *sutta* itself as follows¹ :—just as a mother protects her only child even at the cost of her life, so also let all creatures be considered as such and be happy.

Mātā yathā niyaṃ puttāṃ
 Āyusā ekaputtāṃ anurakkhe,
 Evaṃ pi sabbabhūtesu mānasāṃ
 Bhāvaye aparimāṇāṃ.

Whatever living things there are either feeble or strong, long or short, large or small, seen or unseen, far or near, born or to be born, may all beings be happy (sabbe satlā sukhitā hontu). Let no one deceive another, let him not despise another, let him not out of anger or resentment wish harm or mischief to another. But let him cultivate good will towards all the world and unlimited friendliness towards all, above, below and across, unobstructed, without hatred and without enmity. Standing, sitting or walking or lying down as long as he is awake, let him devote himself to this mental practice of unlimited friendship and love towards all. This way of living is the best in the world. To quote Mrs. Rhys Davids² :—

Even as a mother watcheth over her child,
 Her only child, as long as life doth last.
 So let us, for all creatures, great or small
 Develop such a boundless heart and mind.
 Ay, let us practise love for all the world,
 Upward and downward, yonder, thence,
 Uncramped, free from ill-will and enmity.

This lofty behaviour of the human mind has been more aptly corroborated in the following verses of the Dhammapada, Sukhavagga³ :—

Susukāṃ vata jīvāma verīnesu averino
 Verīnesu manussesu viharāma averino.

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1. This is the pāli counterpart of the 'tarpaṇa-mantra' of the Hindus.
 2. Buddhism (Home University Library) 2nd Ed. 1924, Page. 219
 3. Dhamapada, VV. 197-199.

Susukam vata jīvāma āturesu anāturā
 Āturesu manussesu viharāma anāturā
 Susukam vata jīvāma ussukesu anuṣṣukā,
 Ussukesu manussesu viharāma anussukā.

Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us.
 Among people who hate us let us dwell free from hatred. Let
 us live happily then, free from ailments among the ailing.

Among those who are ailing let us dwell free from ailments.
 Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy.
 Among people who are greedy let us dwell free from greed.

In conclusion one is reminded of the following oft-quoted
 lines of the Bengali poetess Kāmini Roy¹ :—

Āpanāre laye vibrata rahite
 Āsi nāi morā abani 'pare,
 Sakaler tare sakale āmarā
 Pratyake āmarā parer tare.

We have not come to this world to keep busy with ourselves
 only. We are, on the other hand, all for one and one for all.

Sabbe sattā sukhitā hontu.
 May all beings be happy.

1. Kābyakusumāñjali (sukha).

ELIXIR, ITS SIGNIFICANCE AND ITS ORIGIN.

S. Mahdihassan.

That gold can be synthesized has appealed as an exceptional art or as a clever trick according to the credulous nature or the critical temperament of one who had to pay more than a passing attention to such a claim. To the sincere alchemist his entire success depended upon the virtues of an agent or a substance which brought about mutation among metals. I particularly use the word mutation for the alchemist was an animist and believed that metals were living things and were endowed with souls. Whereas artificial mutations in the organic world occur at random, mostly towards monstrosity, the corresponding transformations in alchemy take a definite pattern. Among the incidents recorded they are mostly of a negative character, rarely silver seems to have resulted, and only occasionally, perhaps once in the life time of the experimenter, he could believe that he got gold. With such a range of observations it is expected that the experiment some times stopped at the stage when only copper was obtained, or that, instead of silver being further converted into gold there resulted merely tin. A reverse mutation or any change short of a noble metal is unknown in alchemy. The catalytic agent is an energizer which either works up to its terminal point or not at all. It will be seen later on that this is due to the substance being of the nature of a soul with only creative powers. The substance is so important in Islamic alchemy that the name of the science itself is named after this agent. The substance is *Kimiya*: its craft is *San'atul-Kimiya*; its science, *Ilmul-Kimiya*. With the passage of time instead of the two longer terms, *Kimiya* itself has come to denote alchemy. Even with us chemistry is both a science and a craft. Briefly *Kimiya* is primarily the substance and secondarily alchemy. Thus nothing can force our attention better on the nature and significance of the substance, *Kimiya*. Wiedemann¹ has not

1. Wiedemann, E. (1927) : The Encyclopedia of Islam. *Kimiya* ; Vol II. p. 1010.

failed to point out that, "Kimiya is in Arabic, not primarily an abstraction but means a substance by means of which the transformation of metals is affected ; it is therefore synonymous with Iksir." It means in fact that, in Arabic, there are two names for the substance. When Wiedemann wrote in 1927 he could roughly equate *Kimiya* with *Iksir*, while the question, if there was minor difference between the two, was left undecided. Even today no satisfactory reply would be forthcoming should one raise the question afresh. But what could have been easily recorded was to clearly point to the absence of names for this substance in Greek as well as in Sanskrit.

It is to be confessed that *Kimiya*, the substance cannot be translated by quoting from any authority on Greek or Indian alchemy. A recent attempt ¹ at reinterpretation has given the following results :

1. Chumeia=Rasayana=Kimiya, the Science.

In Chumeia the root is, Chumos=Plant Juice.

„ Rasayana „ „ „ „ Rasa = „ „

„ Kimiya „ „ „ „ Iya = „ „

It is evident that alchemy has had a common origin and it has been shown further that *kimiya* is a Chinese word and the oldest of the three designations. Further it appears that :

2. Chemeia=Kimiya, the Substance.

Chemeia must be the hellenized form of *Kimiya* directly taken from Arabic. When Chemeia was first transliterated into Greek at Alexandria it was pronounced exactly like *Kimiya*, the spoken word of Arabic.

Coming to Indian alchemy we have to equate :

3. Rasa=Kimiya=Plant Juice.

The primary meaning of *Rasa* is Plant Juice and this has to be given preference rather than a theory which begs us to depend upon a secondary meaning of the word, *Rasa*. Later on the important role of Plant-Juice in alchemy will be clearly explained.

4. Rasayana=San'atul—Kimiya, the craft.

1. Mahdihassan., S. (1961) : Alchemy in the light of its names in Arabic, Sanskrit and Greek. *Janus* ; 49: 79.

Etymologically, Rasayana=Rasa+Ayana, where Ayana means the Way, the Guide, to Rasa. Accordingly, Rasayana means, the "know-how" of the Juice, the technique of using the juice, the craft of alchemy.

5. Rasa-Siddhi='Ilmul -Kimiya.

Clearly this is the name for theoretical alchemy or the science of alchemy. In actual practice the art and science of alchemy were the same, exactly like Chemistry to-day.

6. Rasa=Soul=Iksir.

In equation 3, Rasa=Juice. But what kind of juice? It is nothing less important than Soma, the juice, a potion of which conferred immortality. And what was the active principle of such a juice? The soul; and souls according to Animism are the emanations of the Sun which are stored in plants. Rasa, the juice, is the container; soul is its content. Often the more obvious or the container stands for the less obvious or the content. Some times Soma means even its plant, whereas strictly speaking it is the juice. Likewise Kimiya has been used as the Plant, while it is only a juice. Iksir means Soul, as will be explained later on. Here Rasa is to be taken as the juice which is the concentrate of soul units, hence Rasa means Soul after its real content.

7. Kimiya, the herb =Kimiya, the juice=Iksir the soul,

8. Soma, the herb=Soma, the juice=Rasa, the soul.

By now it is evident that in Greek, the substance is *Chemeia*, in Sanskrit, *Rasa*, as mentioned in equations 2 and 3. and the nature of the active principle is that of the soul, in fact it is soul itself. This at once makes alchemy a branch of mysticism rather than that of a craft like gold-smithery.

Now in Sanskrit there is a special term for mercurials, it is again Rasayana. A concrete word can become an abstraction but not vice versa. Rasayana, the abstract noun signifying alchemy, cannot become the name for a class of drugs. Here :

9. Rasayana=Rasa+Ayana.

This Ayana means "Descended from." And Rasa is used in a figurative or in a secondary sense, meaning Mercury. The complete term, Rasayana, would then mean, "Descended from

Mercury” or ‘Mercury-Incorporated.” I have privately drawn the attention of some Sanskritists to the etymology of the two words, Rasayana, alchemy, and Rasayana, mercurial, but without success and I can only hope that some one will throw sufficient light upon the problem. In this connection I beg to point out that there is no way out of the fact that Alchemy is an extension of Herbalism and that originally alchemy did depend entirely on the use of fresh plant juices.

10. Rasa=Soma= Juice= Soul.

The active principle in both the juices is soul.

Plants store “souls” emanating from the sun better than minerals or animals do which explains the great popularity of herbs in ancient times. We have in alchemy their active principles, as *distillates*, and also conserved *herbometallic* preparations or as Bhasmas or Kushtas. These represent nothing else than the soul of a medicinal plant transferred into the body of a calcined metal.

To the animist even stones are living beings and thus endowed with souls. To the same animist Blood was the life-principle of man, just as the soul was the active principle of the juice, Kimiya. To visualize the above claim it may be stated that :

11. Blood=Redness=Soul.

Now red-ochre, red oxide of lead and similar minerals were tried as substitutes of blood. A proverb warns us saying that all that glitters is not gold, To the early animist, on the contrary, all that was red was blood and then the equivalent of soul. Possibly Soma also was such a blood substitute of vegetable origin. The search for plants, red in colour, was shifted to red minerals, because red plant juices were unstable whereas red minerals were permanent. Among them red oxide of lead seems to have been considered at the time as the best equivalent of red-blood. Accordingly :

12. Blood=Soul=Minium.

The alchemists were indefatigable experimenters. Trying to extract some kind of soul from minium they could have only got to lead. I mention this to find an explanation for Chinese alchemy accepting, as the two components of all metals, the elements Lead and Mercury. No one has so far explained how lead and mercury came to be accepted by the Chinese as the elements of all

metals. With regard to lead alone the above may be a possible explanation. The search was further continued until it was established that no stable product, mineral or vegetable, came nearer to red blood than cinnabar; hence:

13. Blood=Soul=Cinnabar.

Here at least it can be easily explained that on equating blood with cinnabar, its components, Sulphur and Mercury, become the components of the soul of all metals. For the animist all souls were one, the soul of a metal was constituted of the same elements as that of any other creature as well as of man. This will be explained better when dealing with the Chinese word, Ch'i. The elements, Sulphur and Mercury, merely represented the two forms of the components of the soul as found in metals. However, the two elements could give rise to the same resultant soul which means that when sulphur and mercury are infused into man they increase his total quantum of soul. Unless we first equate Blood with cinnabar and thus with Soul how is it conceivable that the alchemists, who were reckless experimenters, always failed to discover that in copper or iron there was neither mercury nor sulphur? Only indirectly, on accepting cinnabar or mercuric sulphide as the potential soul, could they have believed that its elements must be present in every metal even though they were not obvious. Briefly cinnabar was the donor of the elements of the soul and as such no further proof was required. The two components, Sulphur and Mercury were generally called the Positive and the Negative elements of the Soul or in Chinese, Yang and Yin principles. What was *seen* was sulphur; what should be *known* was the positive component of the soul. So was Mercury, the Yin element.

The chemist investigates the constitution of a substance as also the biogenesis of a natural product. It is evident that the plant does not fix atmospheric nitrogen in the way as an industrial N_2 synthesizes ammonia. Likewise we must be interested to know the psycho-genesis of the theory how Sulphur and Mercury at all came to be recognized as the elements of all metals including gold. A brief reply would maintain that blood could not be easily equated with yellow-gold, whereas red-cinnabar proved to be the best, hence the components of cinnabar were made the

elements, be they of gold. This can be visualized by the following equation :

$$14. \text{Blood} = \text{Cinnabar} = \text{Sulphur} \times \text{Mercury} = \text{Soul}.$$

When blood was equated with Minium, Lead was replaced by Sulphur. Whereas the importance attached to mercury, even at the time when Minium was popular, cannot be explained as yet, in the light of the fact that cinnabar proved to be the best substitute of red-blood, it is easier to grant, how sulphur and mercury became, so to say, "the elements in general", of all metals. Only when we understand the significance of blood as the soul can we ultimately realize how Sulphur and Mercury persisted even after as the two elements recognised in alchemy.

The proper psycho-genetic explanation will give the complete justification for such a hypothesis. An important phase of Animism was Dualism. It was really world wide. But in China, of about 300 B. C., it developed into a Yin-Yang theory of cosmogony. There are two kinds of thought processes which may be called, centrifugal and centripetal. An example of each will differentiate the two. A pseudo-mystic boasted that in his dream his soul began to expand like the spirit of an Arabian Jinn until it came to overshadow the entire world. His rival retorted by narrating that in his dream his soul had an impact on the world which it reduced to a concentrate so insignificant that it was easily absorbed within his personality. Both these processes are suggested in the explanation of a French cynic who tried to interpret the popular view of the origin of the universe. According to him man was careful in first making God in human image and then allowing God to make man in divine image. Thereby man really conferred upon himself divine attributes. With Dualism likewise the alchemist ultimately claimed that he could exploit the soul with its full creative powers. Man discovered Dualism in human life. Human race was created and is being maintained because of the two elements, an "Adam" and "Eve". There is no place in the theory of Dualism for the assumption that Eve herself is a bit of Adam's rib. Two elements were frankly admitted as not capable of being analysed further, Having actually observed true Dualism it was extended to the universe and in return a Dualistic cosmogony was allowed to explain every

phenomena, from human life to atmospheric disturbances. There were two elements every where and their proper ratio meant harmony, while a change in that ratio meant, poverty in the country, disease of the body, storm in a province, and what not. The Chinese names for these universal elements were Yang and Yin, Every thing was alive like man and consequently everything came into existence like the issues of an "Adam" and "Eve" or of the elements of Masculinity and of Feminality. The elements which went to compose metals, assumed the form of sulphur for Yang and of mercury for Yin. To put sulphur and mercury together was to induce them to unite and "procreate" a metal which, under ideal conditions, would be gold. There was no possibility here of killing or degrading any thing. What appears as merely placing two elements together is really uniting a pair of opposites and their union means generating life or soul with creative powers. It is this explanation which is sadly missing in the literature on alchemy. If a plant juice like Kimiya has a soul, Sulphur and Mercury can procreate that very soul. In this light it may be worth while recalling the milestones in the history of animism and with each stage comparing the product the alchemist prepared according to the particular theory of immortality.

The earliest theory of animism assumes that when man dies his soul is kept in custody so that it be recalled when wanted. Naturally the custodian must be immortal otherwise he may be absent when summoned to return the human soul. The serpent was selected as the custodian because it was believed to be immortal. When the serpent moults every year it was imagined that it rejuvenates itself and thereby becomes an immortal creature. In fact the conception of rejuvenation itself has given rise to the belief in immortality. The souls of the ancestors were all present in the bodies of serpents, making serpent-worship essentially ancestor-worship of the souls of ancestors. When a serpent carried the soul of a deceased it had its own soul as well. Let us now look to an alchemical product comparable with the above theory of immortality. When roses are distilled the flowers are destroyed but their soul passes along with steam and finally becomes the essence of rose. This can

be taken as a drug and added to fortify the soul of a patient needing more units of the soul. The body of the donor, which here is the flower, is discarded, its soul alone is recovered and directly absorbed by the consumer.

Next comes the theory of reincarnation. The soul enters any mortal creature just as it is being born and on its death seeks a fresh host. No change occurs in the body, nor any special virtue is shown on the part of the soul. Exploiting this theory a medicinal plant, having a delicate body but an energetic soul, is calcined with a metal where the soul is poor but the body strong, and the resultant becomes a herbo-metallic preparation, the product of induced transmigration of the herbal soul. This class of medicaments are called Bhasmas or Kushtas. The active principle is the soul of the herb, the same which occurs naturally in some juices. Such an alchemical achievement is nothing else than the result of applied Dualism. The herbal body is not subjected to any transformation, it is allowed to die ; further the plant soul is not powerful enough to reveal any effect of an impact upon the metal body.

P. Carus¹ writes that, "the insufficiency of the dualism which finds expression in this contrast of the Yang and Yin principles must have felt itself very early, for the Chinese philosophy, as it appears in all the classics, exhibits a decided tendency towards monism." First of all monism has to be explained as applicable to immortality. When man dies his soul goes to heaven where it remains dormant until the day of Judgement when it revives the body ; the Returned-Soul and the Revived-Body now represent not two units but one entity, a union which is permanent for ever. In this case there is clear evidence of an impact of the soul on the body. The soul is no longer so poor as to keep on seeking shelter from one mortal body to another ; it can return to its own body with a vengeance and then once for all. This kind of immortality, where the body obviously participates, though passively, is best illustrated by the life of Lord Jesus Christ. After crucifixion his Soul returned to his dead body and on impact the latter became so buoyant that it

1. Carus, P. (1902) : Chinese Philosophy. Open Court Pub. Co., Chicago. p. 24.

could ascend to heaven. We have now to see how the alchemist exploited such a model to prepare a drug more potent than the two considered before. He can start with a simple substance like common salt, place it in a retort with alcohol and distil it. Just as the soul of rose flower wants water vapour as a carrier the "essence" of salt evaporates along with alcohol as its vehicle. The first distillate contains just a little of the soul of salt. The entire distillate is returned to the retort and redistilled. The second distillate brings the previous quantity of soul plus another quantum. By repeating the process almost all the soul of common salt is recovered in the distillate and what can that be but salt which by degrees has now become all sublimable. Just as body on an impact of the soul becomes buoyant and can ascend heavenwards, matter, which constitutes the salt, becomes sublime, so much so that the body of salt accompanies its soul and the salt becomes sublimable while originally it was not. This sublimable salt is the Elixir of Salt. A little of it acts as a ferment and can, without further trouble make more salt sublimable. As a drug it likewise energizes man. Unless we picture a model case of immortality like that of Jesus, an Elixir of Salt will be difficult to visualize. In contrast to other series of preparations here we find a change has been brought about in the body itself, the element constituted of matter. The *raison d'être* can be found in a statement of Philo : "The soul can so dominate the body that it shows forth an initiation of the powers of the soul". It only remains to be shown that a drug made on the same pattern easily imparts immortality. The drug now has a soul with creative powers. In an illustrated article, containing fig. I here, Davis¹ reproduces, the legend of prince Lin-An, who took an alchemical preparation, died immediately but also revived, when he "rose to the sky in broad day light," just as Christ did. "A dog and a cock having respectively licked and picked at the vessels in which the medicine was made also ascended into the sky." We can then represent Elixir symbolically by the following equation :

1. Davis, T. L. (1943) : Chinese beginnings of Alchemy. *Endeavour* ; 2 : 153.

15. Elixir = Revived body \times Returned Soul = (Unity). It is clear that Kimiya is a natural substance but not available. On the contrary elixirs, though not existing as such in nature, can be prepared from common substances like ordinary salt. The victory of the inorganic-chemist over the herbal-chemist is quite evident. But the credit really goes to Monism which was the last to be applied to alchemy. Preparations made on Monistic pattern are Elixirs. In Arabic the word Iksir is used ten times as frequently as Kimiya which indirectly suggests that it is more practical to make Elixirs.

Now if we make the Iksir of Sulphur and the Iksir of Mercury their mixture, or rather union will be the Iksir of Gold. Sulphur will then be non-inflammable, Mercury heat-stable, thus by no means ordinary sulphur and mercury. The two Iksirs being both souls will at once become a homogeneous mixture or rather a union and serve as the Elixir of Gold and as such a "seed" that will infuse life into substrate which from being "mortal" will become "immortal", and this change simply means that the substrate has become gold. It has been stated that there is no alchemy without the substance that transforms base metals into gold. One such substance is Kimiya, the Gold making Juice, the other is the Elixir of Gold. It so happens that the term Elixir of Gold has been translated into Latin as Splendour Solis so that we can equate :

15. Kimiya (the Gold making Juice) = Elixir of Gold = Splendour Solis.

If the name Splendour Solis can be paraphrased as Elixir of Gold it will be an independent confirmation of our interpretation of Elixir. It is stated¹ that "Splendour is called the brilliance of *Light* which a dark body incapable of giving out light has *Revived* from a luminous body," and Revived-Light is Returned-Light. Likewise, elixir is the soul which a dead body relieves and again accepts when the revived-Body and Returned-Soul become one, nay identical ; the Returned-Soul absorbs the Revived-Body as part of it. Splendour can thus be equated with Elixir.

1. Splendour Solis (1582) : by Solomon Trismosin. Published by K. Paul, Trubner & Co. Without date, perhaps 1920. p. 96.

Solis is another name for Gold. These make the fullname, Splendour Solis identical with Elixir of Gold. To quote a Canadian alchemist¹, who died in 1877, elixir, which he does not mention as such but which, being his best achievement, can only be elixir, was the "creative, all-changeful essence." If the creative or the life-reviving power of elixir is fully recognized, its other attributes can be ignored for our purpose. Iksir, a prepared substance involving so much theory, is certainly a later term than Kimiya, the natural substance. Kimiya had been so long in use that it developed at least four different senses which are all found in Firdousi² who, however, never uses the word Iksir even once. It may nevertheless be pointed out again that in common speech today the word, Iksir, the substance, is used ten times as often as Kimiya.

The only problem now left is to show the origin of Elixir as a word. The original is Chinese where, in its simplest form the word is Ch'i. This now requires to be explained from Chinese sources, always remembering that it must be some equivalent of life-principle, with creative-powers. P. Carus (P. 31) quotes from Williamson's dictionary that Ch'i means, "breath, vapour, vital-force, Spirit." Let us ask here how did existence at all begin according to Semitic religions. We read in the Gospel of St. John, for example, that, "in the beginning there was the Word." Thus "the word" represents existence at its earliest stage. Now "word" is an acoustic term, it means nothing to the deaf. Just as one form of energy, say heat, can be transformed into another, say light, we can change an acoustic unit into a visual one. Fortunately this will not be difficult to realize. The typical Chinese method of illustrating a man uttering a word is to show some breath leaving his mouth and to inscribe on such a cloud of vapour the word supposed to have been spoken. We can thus equate :

16. Word = Breath.

We have now to show from references that Breath actually represents the nucleus from which all forms of existence has

1. Martin, W. A. P. (1880) : Hanlin Papers. P. 226.

2. Wolff, F. (1935) : Glossar zur Firdosis Shahname.

evolved. Fung Yu-Lan¹ maintains that, according to Chang Tsai, "Ch'i means the primary undifferentiated material out of which all individual things are formed"; not merely man but all things. Chang further explains (on p. 279) that "all things in the universe are constituted of one and the same Ch'i, therefore men and all other things are but part of one great body." In the Dictionary of Giles² the first term with which Ch'i is translated makes it, "the vivifying principle." Now what is the vivifying-principle but what we call the Soul.

It is possible to offer even further support. As amateur critics we often discover that an artist has shown the details of a painting true to life but some how "there is no life" in the picture. We look upon an artist as the "creator" of oil painting. The element he should have infused, figuratively speaking, was its "life and spirit." This "Spirit" when rendered into Chinese becomes "Ch'i". From Welch³; we learn that, using Lao Tzu's words, "the painter must see without looking", which Welch rightly believes enables the artist to "come to know his subject from inside and only in this way can his brush catch the Ch'i or vital breath of what he is painting. "Thus : 17. Breath=Ch'i=Vivifying-principle=Life-and-spirit.

The conception, Breath=Life-element, is a very primitive one and is widely found everywhere including Indian philosophy. Chhandogya Upanishad, with its commentary by India's greatest mystic, Sankaracharya, has been translated by Ganganath Jha.⁴ The text says : "Breath indeed is the oldest and the best." Sankara's commentary runs as follows : "Because while the child is in the womb, the Breath attains its functioning stage and by this prior functioning stage of the Breath that the foetus grows while it is only after the organs of sight etc have developed in the foetus that speech etc. begin to function ; hence Breath becomes the

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1. Fung Yu-Lan (1958) : A short history of Chinese Philosophy p. 278.
 2. Giles, H. A. (1892) : A Chinese English Dictionary. Character 1064.
 3. Welch, H. (1957) : The Parting of the Way p. 159.
 4. Ganganath Jha (1925) : Chh'andogya Upanishad. Published by. V. C. Seshachari. Madras.

oldest in age, If one scripture claims that "in the beginning was the Word," does it differ in meaning from another that, "Breath becomes the oldest in age," when it has been independently shown that Breath is a synonym of the word. Thus Ch'i or Breath is the life-principle which the alchemist wanted as an agent to exploit for attaining immortality. The Chinese language has many words of the same sound but different in meanings. Ch'i is a common word with various connotations, while the alchemist understood by it only one of its meanings. To achieve it there was a long term, Chen-I-chih-Ch'i, given in Li Ch'iao-p'ing¹; Literally it means, the Real-one-(of)-Spirit, or in purer English, the One and Real Spirit. Here "One" and "Real" are synonyms for we can either say, the-one-Spirit, or the Real-Spirit. It is better form to say in English the "real-spirit" and the original Chinese term of four words has been actually translated by Li Ch'iao p'ing as, the "real-spirit." But the term which exists in its shorter form in Chinese means, "the-One-Spirit or I-Ch'i. This alone is given in Doolittle's Dictionary² who unfortunately translates it rather literally as One-Breath. Apparently when the content is not understood the translation appears as a kind of caricature. The shorter term or I-Ch'i, can be safely translated as Monad-Spirit. Ch'i is too general a term while I-Ch'i is quite specific and which was the one the Arabs borrowed. My correspondence with scholars have always ended in their kindly pointing out to terms as existing in post-T'ang or to pre-T'ang literary Chinese. The alchemists were humble people who must have spoken the local dialects like typical folks. For me at least it becomes necessary to take a term not merely to Chinese but to some dialect of it. It has the further advantage that while the literary language has undergone a change the dialects have retained their old pronunciation. Yangchow is in the same province as Nanking, the centre of Chinese culture. In the Yangchow dialect I-Ch'i is pronounced Yik-Ch'i. Yik was simplified by the Arabs into Ik which can be atonce understood. There being no Ch'i

1. LiCh'iao-p'ing (1948) : The Chemical Arts of Old China p. 17

2. Doolittle, J. (1872) : Vocabulary of Chinese Language. Vol. II, p. 229.

sound in Arabic it was transformed into Si and accordingly Yik-Ch'i became Ik-Si. To this the Arabs added a terminal R which may require a further explanation.

We have to recognize the "phonetic constitution," if I may so put it, both of the donating and of the borrowing languages in order to understand how, for example, a terminal R sound disappears or is added when there was none in the original. In German, R is guttural and very inaudible. This is recognized even by the German stage where R is highly exaggerated. We also find that when an original drawing is copied or a signature forged, the subtle lines become very prominent. The subtle R sound, so to say, of common speech, becomes over-emphasized into the R sound of the German stage. Let us now see a reverse process where a terminal R tends to disappear. The late Prof. Goldschmidt¹ whom I had the honour of knowing well enough to have discussed even phonetic problems spells, in his autobiography, the name of Nawab Salar Jung with "Salah." The consonantal R was converted into a long vowel sound expressed with H. The English are even worse in this respect. The Hindustani word, Sirdar, has two syllables, both ending in R. The phonetic dictionary of Jones² transliterates the word, as pronounced in English, as "Sə : da :", where the sign (:) means the vowel has to be lengthened. To use the system Goldschmidt adopted for his transliteration Sirdar would be Sadah. We can now consider the reverse process. The English pronounce their word Sir as Se : like the syllable "Sa", in the Hindustani word "Saccha", truthful. "Sir", is a most common word, particularly heard by Indian stenographers taking dictations of letters from their English chiefs, yet even they reproduce "Sirr". Here R is clearly added and very much so, as RR.

There are atleast two other words of Chinese origin as loan-words in Arabic where a terminal R has been added for the sake of a clear ending. The word Qirtas for paper has been traced to the Chinese term, Chi-Tan-Tsz, which became Qir-Ta-S.

1. Goldschmidt, R. (1960) : In and out of the Ivory Tower,

2. Jones, D. (1940) : An English pronouncing dictionary.

Chi on becoming Qi, and taking a terminal "R" finally became Qir¹; Kursi means Chair, its original is K'au-Tsz-I. Here K'au took an "R" and the word became Kau-R-S-i and finally Ku-R-s-i² In the same way Yik-Ch'i became Ik-Si-r or Iksir.

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1. Mahdihassan, S. (1955): *Qirtas-J. Univ. Bom.*; 24 : 148 P. 161.
 2. Mahdihassan, S. (1953): *Kursi-Bombay B. Royal A. Soc.*; 28 : 19 p. 21.
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PLEASURE GARDENS AND RECREATIONS IN MUSLIM SPAIN

Dr. S. M. Imamuddin

The Spanish Muslims applied the art of plantation in beautifying their house and country. The 'Arab kings and nobles built beautiful gardens with palaces inside for recreation both on river banks and on mountain tops supplying these with water in abundance through hydraulics. In laying out and ornamenting the gardens people irrespective of their being kings and nobles, rich and poor, theologians and laymen participated with equal zeal and enthusiasm. As a result each villa and each palace in towns and in the countryside looked like a bride in the midst of a beautiful garden.

For evening walk parks and gardens were laid out along the banks of the rivers and in the suburbs of towns. Along the right bank of the Guadalquivir foot paths were constructed with stones and flower plants of various types and colours were grown specially from the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II which attracted travellers to its splendour and beauty as the banks of the Seine of modern Paris do today after one thousand years. This example of the Umayyads of Cordova were copied by the Banū Dhū-Nūn of Toledo, 'Abbāids of Seville and Nāsirids of Granada in beautifying the banks of the Tagus, the Guadalquivir and the Dauro with parks, gardens and foot paths paved with stones and bricks on edge in geometrical patterns. These were open to all but specially to the nobility. Besides these, every family of standing had a *munyaṭ* (country residence) in a pleasure garden. Hydraulic devices for supplying water were quite in keeping with the needs of the gardens. Among the favourite flowers of the Arabs were rose, Jasmine, narcissus, lilies, water lilies, myrtle, violets, daisies, carnations, jonquils and the red anemone references to which were made by botanists.¹

1. Ibn Baṣṣāl, *Libro de Agricultura*, Tetuan. 1955, pp. 209-219: Abn'l Ḥasan 'Arīb b. Sa'īd, *Calendrier*, Leiden, 1873, pp. 49, 109

Inside and around the city of Cordova there were many palaces for recreation in the midst of beautiful and decorated gardens like Munyat al-Ruṣāfah (the pleasure garden house of the Ruṣāfa), north of the city, Qaṣr al-Rauḍat (the palace of the garden), Qaṣr al-Zahrā (the palace of the flowers), Dimashq which was supported by marble columns inside the gardens of delicious fruits and beautiful flowers and limpid streams, al-Muṣḥafīyah (the pleasure house of Ḥājib al Muṣḥafī inside the city), Munyat al-Zubayr in the outskirts of the city, Munyat al-‘Āmiriyah and Munyat al-Nā‘urah.¹ There were many other pleasure gardens provided with beautiful houses for recreation in the suburbs of Cordova.

The founder of the Umayyad Dynasty in Spain, Amīr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I, set up the example by constructing Ruṣāfah which has been described as earthly paradise by Ibn Ḥazm.² The Amīr, who was very fond of flowers and fruits, planted a beautiful garden in memory of his ancestral Ruṣāfah villa of Damascus and named it after that pleasance. He brought water from a neighbouring mountain through an aqueduct to irrigate his garden as well as to supply water to the town and built a magnificent palace within the garden. He engaged botanists to introduce Eastern plants in his garden. Among the plants thus introduced were the plum, the peach and the pomegranate. Nature was thus tamed by art to afford a cool fresh setting for recreation. According to Shaqundī this garden was one of the most pleasant spots in the then known world.³ The Amīr passed the hot days and weary nights of summer in this pleasure garden. At a short distance from the present Cordova which had been reduced largely in area on the fall of the Ummayyads in Spain there was built a convent on the site of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s garden called San Francisco de la Arrizafa.⁴

Amīr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II laid out spacious and beautiful gardens through which canals led the waters of mountain torrents.⁵

1. Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Tib* (Engl. tr.). I, pp. 211-2

2. Edwyn Hole, *Andalus*, London, 1958, p. 143

3. Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Tib* (Eng. tr.), I, pp. 67, 86, & n25

4. Gayangos, *The Mohammedan Dynsties in Spain*, I, p. 374 n⁸

5. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, (Eng. tr.), p. 260

Munyat al 'Āmiriyah which was founded by Ḥājib al-Manṣūr in the suburbs of the famous Madinat al-Zahrā was a magnificent country residence.¹ Many a Munyat al-Naṣr built in the outskirts of Cordova on the bank of Arḥa al-Hanna' was known as Rakin and had many olive trees.² There must have been some palaces and gardens for recreation as appears from its name but we don't have the details of such. In the western part of Cordova close to the church there was a garden full of trees.

The banks of the Guadalquivir were decorated with fine buildings and beautiful pleasure-gardens. Basing his information on the reports of the travellers, Shaqundī says that the banks of the Tigris and Nile did not have many beautiful orchards, gardens and pleasure-grounds like those of the Guadalquivir. According to him as reported by Maqqarī, the banks of the Guadalquivir were covered in great profusion with gardens and and orchards having, specially, vines and yew trees.³

The sevillans were known for ornamenting their houses with gardens which were provided with running waters and their wide courts were planted with orange, lemon, citron etc.⁴ There were many pleasure-grounds in the suburbs of Seville. In this connection especial mention may be made of Trayana (Triana), a suburb of Seville, separated from the city by the Guadalquivir⁵ and Qabtal (the present isla menor), an island of the Guadalquivir⁶.

Ibn al-Zaqqāq a famous poet of Valencia sings in praise of his city :- "God has given it for a dress its green meadow sprinkled with flowers, of which the sea and the river form the skirts".⁷ The suburbs of Valencia had so many orchards and flower-gardens that the city looked like a maiden of flowers,

1. Gayangos, II, p. 218

2. Ḥimyarī, *The Kitāb Rawḍaṭ al-Mi'ṭār*, Leiden, 1938, p. 186.

3. Gayangos, I, p. 279

4. Ibid I, p. 155

5. Ibid I, p. 59

6. Ibid I, pp. 57, 363n⁶

7. Ibid I, pp. 57, 363n⁷

the smell of which perfumed the air. Due to this, according to Shaqundī, Valencia was called al-Miṭyab al-Andalus (the scent bottle of Andalus).¹ The atmosphere of Valencia as observed by Shaqundī was the most clear and transparent in Spain and it had many adjoining parks and gardens like those of Ruṣāfah and Munyat ibn Abi 'Āmir. In imitation of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's in Cordova, the Ruṣāfah in Valencia was planted close to a spot which is still called Ruzafa.² The Munyat was laid by 'Abd al-'Azīz Abī 'Āmir king of Valencia and grandson of the famous Hājib al-Manṣūr of Cordova.³ The Valencian Muslims founded many Munyats of which some still preserve the tradition in names Almunia de Dona Godina, Almunia de San Juan and Almunia Madrada.⁴

At a short distance from the city of Toledo a summer house was built by the Banī Dhū al-Nūn ruler Mā'mūn in the middle of a lake. Hole writes".....it was a domed edifice made of glass and gilt work: water was carried up to the top and allowed to fall in a transparent sheath while Mā'mūn sat cool and dry within. At night it was brilliantly lit up."⁵ The traces of the palace, the walls covered with arabesque tracings and water pipes connecting the palace with the tank were seen by Gayangos in 1836 A. C.⁶ Now it has been converted into a farm house.

The bank of the Guadix had a famous and beautiful garden called al-Mussārah.⁷ A country residence called Munyat was built by Idris al-Mā'mūn, the Muwahḥidīn ruler in the vicinity of Malaga.⁸

The famous pleasure garden of the Nāṣirid period was Jannat al-'Ārif (sp-Generalife) the garden of inspector or the

1. Gayangos, I, p. 67

2. Ibid, I, p. 374 n⁸

3. Ibid, I, p. 66

4. Ibid, I, p. 374 n¹⁰

5. *Andalus*, p. 144

6. Gayangos, I, 384 n¹⁹ 12,

7. Ibid, II, p. 361

8. Ibid, II, p. 355n³

very high garden, watered by running streams known for its luxuriant trees and healthiness of the air.¹ The highest part of the hills of Sierra Nevada was covered with green vegetation, beautiful garden and magnificent summer houses to which water was supplied by hydraulic machinery which being destroyed after the downfall of the Nāṣirids, the hills became arid and dry. The remains of the Muslim palace 'Dār al-'Ārūsa' destroyed in the 16th century are still seen on the top of the hill. The Alijares palace lying in the south has been converted to the Municipal cemetery. Of all these summer houses only Generalife has remained intact. This pleasure house is known more for its gardens than for its buildings kept and maintained in the Muslim fashion and speaks highly of the 'Arab art of gardening. Only a first-hand view of this superb example of gardening with its streams, fountains, flower plants and Cyprus trees rather than its description in words which fail to convey its full beauty can result in proper appreciation of this unique garden.

Andalusian Muslims besides devoting the evening to walk and other recreations reserved the holidays for outing. Friday morning was the usual half holiday for merchants and artisans² and Sunday was the holiday for Ḥaram officials³ and soldiers irrespective of their being Muslims or Christians during the time of Ḥājib al-Manṣūr⁴ whose army consisted largely of Slav soldiers who were originally Christian slaves. The Spanish Muslims passed their evenings and holidays in playing and hunting.

There was a coursing game on horseback. The Muslims of Spain often rode out hawking in the valleys of rivers, specially the Guadalquivir the banks of which were alive with crane, pigeon, partridge and quail. References to the hawking of crane by Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān I are found in the pages of the literature of those times.

1. Gayangos, II, p, 360n

2. Ibn 'Abdūn, *Sevilla*, Madrid, 1948, p. 86.

3. Gayangos, II, p. 215

4. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, 495.

Birds were also trained to speak and sing and carry message to distant places in short time. In 922 A. C. Zīrī b. 'Aṭīyah presented a bird, which spoke Arabic and Berber, to Ḥājib al-Manṣūr.¹ The news of Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn's attack on Algeciras was sent to Mu'tamid king of Seville by his son Yazīd through some carrier pigeons.²

Polo was a very familiar game with the Muslims in Spain. Horse being scarce in Spain, special care was taken by the Umayyads for their breeding.³ The horse breeding methods introduced by the Arabs are still followed by the Spanish Government especially in Granada.

A form of bull fighting was prevalent in Spain specially at Merida most probably from the Roman days. It was a fight between a bull and a horseman armed with lance. References to the captivation of the Murābiṭīn and Muwaḥḥidīn of North Africa with the Andalusian games specially bull-fighting are found in the pages of history. Even today bull-fighting is the national sport of the Spaniards.

Among the indoor games chess was very much familiar to the Spanish Muslims. The poet Wazīr of Seville, Ibn 'Ammār, played chess with Alfonso of North Spain and defeated him in the game and thus saved Seville from falling into Christian hands for a time. Back gammon and draughts were among other pastimes of the people. Among the milder types of recreation were garden parties and picnics which were held during feast days specially on the days of the 'Ids and Mihrjān and Nawrūz of Persian origin which were joined by Muslim women whose attendance in all social functions, jousts and tournaments enlivened Cordova, Toledo, Seville and Granada. On the occasion of marriages and circumcisions generous parties were thrown and enormous sums were spent. Rich men tried to make these memorable occasions. Keeping of horses and slaves and taking of delicious food were the hall mark of every Andalusian noble.⁴

1. Gayangos, II, p. 191

2. Ibid, II, p. 253

3. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ā'māl al-'Ilām*, p. 117 ; 'Arib b. Sa'īd, *Calendar*, pp. 45, 63

4. Al-Khushanī *The Kitāb al-Qudāt ba Qurṭubah*, 52/64 tr.

Muḥammad ibn Aflāḥ a client and a courtier of Ḥakam II spent so lavishly on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter that he had to borrow money for which purpose also he had no valuable left with him except a bridle decorated with jewels, which he carried to the mint master Muḥammad 'Āmir who later became known as Ḥājib al-Manṣūr and who paid him the money he wanted.¹ On the occasion of the circumcision of his own son, Ḥājib al-Manṣūr got 500 poor boys circumcised and spent 500,000 dīnārs² (each dīnār being approximately equal to £2½). Mā'mūn ibn Dhū al-Nūn of Toledo spent so lavishly in giving a party for his grandson Yaḥyā that it became proverbial in Muslim Spain.³ In 985 A. C. when Ḥājib al-Manṣūr was on his way to an expedition to Barcelona he was given a warm reception and served with grand feasts for thirteen days by Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb at Murcia.⁴

During the meal certain formalities were observed. There was no conversation and no wine which they later had, however, in the drawing room after the meal was over. In spite of Islamic prohibition the drinking of wine was common in Spain but the Spanish Muslims generally used soft drinks like juice of fruits and *sharbat*. The *valid* variety of vine product was, however, a little stronger than other types. The theologians fought unsuccessful battles against the drinking of wine. Certain rulers and chiefs being won over by the fuqahā' tried to stop this practice. Ḥakam II destroyed half of the vine plantation in the latter part of the 10th century and ibn Jahwar of Cordova broke all the wine jars in the early 11th century.

In spite of Islamic prohibition entertainment was provided by musicians and singing girls mostly imported from distant lands, some of whom rose to prominence due to their elegant art and magnificent performance. A symposium on music and song was

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1. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 461
 2. Nuwayri, *Historia de los Musulmanes de Espanay Africa*, I, Granada, 1917 (Sp. tr.), 67/61 tr.
 3. Hole, *Andalus*, p. 143
 4. Lopez, *Contribuciones*, p. 109

organized by Prince 'Uthmān the son of Amīr Muḥammad.¹ The famous singer Bacea received a sound thrashing after the party broke up.² Dancing girls also juggled with daggers and sabres. Music was included in the curriculum. Ibn Farnas and Ziryāb established a school of music³ and al-Fārābī composed a work on musical theory. Seville was known for music and Malaga for song and dance. A Diva from Baghdād who was a singing girl of Ḥājib al-Manṣūr and settled at Malaga after the downfall of the Umayyads was a renowned singer and dancer.⁴

From the passing references made in the literatures of those days it appears that there was a zoological garden in Cordova which was visited by people specially women and children on festival days. Spain being a cold country wild beasts did not thrive there but Spanish rulers received them as gifts from abroad. In 991 A.C. Zīrī b. 'Aṭīyah al-Maghrawī, the king of Zenata, sent to Manṣūr as presents many wild animals like civet cats, giraffes, elephants, lions, tigers, and leopards. In the following year the Zenata chief presented a wild ox and two big lions in iron cages.⁵ The poet Ibn Saīd presented to the same Prime Minister a deer which was led by a cord.⁶ In the Madinat al-'Āmiriyah horse-breeding had been introduced by Ḥājib al-Manṣūr under a regular staff who might have been entrusted with the task of looking after these wild beasts put in a separate place in the Madinat al-'Āmiriyah or in the suburbs of Cordova. These ferocious animals which were rare in Spain might have been displayed in public exhibitions but we do not have enough data in support of this conjecture. It is, however, known that later in the fare of al-Jibal (Algelab) near Murcia six lions and two tigers had been shown in a public theatre.⁷

1. Ibn Qūṭīyah quoted by Hole p. 147

2. Hole, *Andalus*, p. 147

3. Cf. Author's article on *Music in Islamic Culture*. Hyderabad, 1950, 147-9

4. Hole, p. 148

5. Gayangos, II, p. 191 & n⁴²

6. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 58.

7. Qasiri, *Biblioteca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, II, p. 58

A NEW FIRMAN OF EMPEROR JAHANGIR FROM RAJSHAHI MUSEUM.

Zakiuddin Ahmad.

The recent discovery of an important imperial firman¹ in the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, East Pakistan in which Emperor Jahāngīr on 17th Farwardin, 21 *IIāhī* year, commands Rāja Kalyān the arrest of Khān Khānān and Fidāī Khān, opens before our eyes an intriguing episode presumably connected with the capture of the Emperor at the hands of Mahābat Khan, not recorded in any of the contemporary or post-contemporary works. The contents of the firman which apparently contradicts the recorded annals of the reign, pose a problem to the students of the history of the Great Mughals. Nevertheless we feel that the firman, if rightly understood, will throw a flood of welcome light on the court-intrigue of the period and that but for this important discovery this great occurrence would have remained shrouded in mists of oblivion.

The text of the document as deciphered is reproduced here together with a photo-copy.

It is written in Persian in bold character. On the left of it is affixed the imperial insignia in nasta'liq character which is deciphered as follows :-

In the outer circle are written the names of eight forefathers of Emperor Jahāngīr beginning with Ibn Ṣāhib Karān Amīr Taimūr, followed respectively by Ibn Mīran Shāh, next, though illegible in the insignia itself, by Ibn Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh as restored from other historical records, followed by Ibn Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, Ibn Sheikh Mīrza 'Umar, Ibn Bābur Pādshāh, Ibn Humāyūn Pādshāh and Ibn Akbar Pādshāh, the inner circle

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1. This firman was procured from Gauda by Mr. K. M. Messer author of 'Bagurar Itikahini' (History of Bogra). He presented it to the Varendra Research Society Rajshahi, East Pakistan. The writer is deeply grateful to the Curtator, Varendra Research Society for his kind permission to use this firman and make a photo-copy of it for this essay.

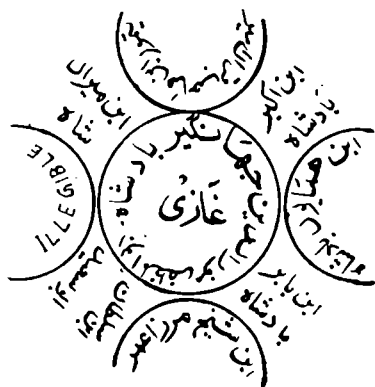
Obverse :

فرمان ابوالمظفر نورالدین محمد جهانگیر پادشاه غازی

زبدة الاشباه و الاقران لایق

الالتفات و الاحسان راجه کلیان

بعنایت پادشاهانه



پستمال و امیدوار گشته بداند که درین ولا چنان بعرض
مقدس رسید که خانخانان مقهور وفدایخان حرامخور بغی نموده
گریخته اند حکم شد که اگر باں طرف بیایند آنها را بدست آورده
بدرگاه فرستد و یقین داند که اگر در گرفتن آنها مداهنه خواهد نمود
مجرم گناهگار خواهد بود از فرموده تخلف و انحراف نورزد تحریراً
فی تاریخ -

۱۷ ماه فروردین الهی سنه ۶۱

Reverse :

برساله ... بندهای درگاه ابوالحسن و نوبت واقعه نویس صادق

bearing the name of the Emperor as Abu'l Muzaffar Nūrud-Dīn Jahāngīr Pādshāh Ghāzī. On the left of it is written in the Togrā 'Firman Abu'l Muzaffar Nūruddīn Muhammad Jahāngīr Pādshāh Ghāzī.'

The contents of the firman, written in nāstālīq character, translated into English, read as follows :-

"The Cream of Peers and Equals and worthy of attention and favour because of imperial kindness, Rāja Kalyān feeling humble and bearing hope should know that recently information has reached the August Presence that Khān Khanān who has caused the imperial wrath and the ungrateful Fidā'ī Khān have revolted and fled away. It is ordered that if they happen to go that direction, they should be arrested and sent to the royal presence. He should know for certain that if he shows sluggishness in arresting them, he will be held responsible and liable to punishment. He should not deviate from or act contrary to the royal order. Written on the 17th Farwardīn, Ilāhī year 21."

Overleaf is written the name of the waki'anavīs i. e. the news-writer which, when translated, reads as follows :—"composed by servant of the royal court Abu'l-Ḥasan, the truthful news-writer."

The firman measures 24'' × 14½'' recorded on durable hand made thick paper.

The personages mentioned in this order of arrest are three in number, viz., Rāja Kalyān, the Khān Khanān and Fidā'ī Khān. Some difficulties arise as regards the identity of the first and the third due to the fact that we have more than one person bearing the same names.

To begin with Fidā'ī Khān, we have as many as four personages bearing the same name. Let us therefore enter into a brief discussion to find out the Fidā'ī Khān in reference to the present context.

1. *Fidā'ī Khān (Sulaimān Beg).*

Sulaimān beg was accorded the title of Fidā'ī Khān on the 6th of Sha'bān 1015 A. H. (A.D. 1607).¹ In the 8th regnal year

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge), vol. I, p. 131.

he was nominated to the paymastership of the army in order to invade Mewar under the leadership of Prince Khurram.¹ He did not however live long to enjoy the imperial favour. In the 9th year of Jahāngīr's reign on the 12th Khurdad he 'gave up the deposit of his life.'²

2. *Fidāī Khān (Mīr Zarīf).*

He was a servant of Emperor Shāh Jahān and was sent along with the Persian ambassador to fetch Persian horses for the Emperor.³ The horses he brought were not to the liking of the Emperor and in order to save himself from the royal displeasure, he 'represented that he could bring better horses if he were allowed to visit the mainland of Arabia and countries of Rum.'⁴ Accordingly the Emperor sent him to those countries with a friendly letter addressed to the Sultān of Turkey. He met Sultān Murād Khān and after the capture of Baghdād by the Sultān he begged leave of him. In the 13th regnal year he reached Kashmīr, paid homage to the Emperor and produced before him 52 horses which he had purchased and the two horses that the Sultan's armour-bearer, his host had presented him with as among the best in Turkey. The Emperor highly appreciated his skill in procuring the horses and accorded him a rank of 1,000 with 200 horse and the title of Fidāī Khān. In succession to Tarbiyat Khān he was also appointed Master of the Horse. Further, he obtained the charge of Lahari Bandar, which is in Sind.

In the 14th regnal year however 'unkindly time poured the brackish drought of misfortune into his mouth' and in A.D. 1640 the cup of his life was filled.⁵

3. *Fidāī Khān (Muhammad Sālih).*

He was the son of Azīm Khān Koka and flourished during the reign of Aurangzeb. In the life-time of his father he received

1. *Tūzuk* vol. I, p. 256.

2. *Ibid*, p. 265.

3. *Maathir-ul-Umarā* (Beveridge), vol. I, p. 558.

4. *Ibid*, p. 558.

5. *Ibid*, p. 559.

a suitable rank and attained the title of Khān. He rose steadily into prominence;—in the 23rd regnal year he became Superintendent of the elephant stables; in the 26th year he was made Bakhshī of the Ahādīs; in the 28th year he became faujdār and dīwān of Bareilly. In the 38th year of Aurangzeb's reign he obtained the title 'Fidā'ī Khān and on the death of Shāista Khān was made the faujdār of Agra. Thereafter he was for some time governor of Bihār.¹ In the 44th year he was appointed faujdār of Tirhut and Darbhanga and had the rank of 3000 with 2500 horse.

4. *Fidāī Khān (Hidāyatullāh).*

He was the youngest of the four brothers..... The Ma'āthīr-ul-Umarā gives an account of his early rise thus. At first he was Mīr Baḥr and was entrusted with the charge of the flotilla. 'He became a vakīl of Mahābat Khān and was for a long time attached to the court and a recipient of royal favours. As Mahābat Khān patronised him within a short time he became an Amīr.

In the 12th regnal year he was honoured with the title of Fidā'ī Khān.² In the same year Emperor Jahāngīr ordered him to proceed against the Zemindar of Zaitpur which is in the jurisdiction of Mandu, with some 400 or 500 musketeers as the said Zemindar 'had not had the felicity of kissing the threshold.'³ Although in the campaign Fidāī lost his brother Rūhullāh,⁴ the imperial object was fully achieved. The entire region was laid waste and the Zemindar begged pardon. An order was given that he should be allowed quarter and brought to court."⁵

In the 14th regnal year Fidāī Khān was promoted to the manṣab of 1,000 personal and 500 horse.⁶ In the 15th year he was further promoted to the manṣab of 1000 personal and 700 horse.

1. *Ma'āthīr-ul-Umara* vol I, p. 564.

2. *Tūzūk* (Rogers & Beveridge) vol. I, p. 383.

3. *Ibid*, p. 389

4. *Ibid*, p. 391.

5. *Ibid*, p. 392.

6. *Tūzūk* (Rogers & Beveridge) vol. II, p. 94.

In the 17th regnal year however there was a charge of complicity of Fidā'ī Khān in the rebellion of Shāh Jahān. The Emperor hastily imprisoned him along with Muḥtarim Khān and Khalīl Beg Zū-l-qadr. The latter two received capital punishment while "Fidā'ī Khān the dust of whose sincerity was free of suspicion and pure, I brought out of confinement and promoted."¹

We have further a reference to him about his taking part in the two hunting excursions along with the Emperor on the 10th Dai and 2nd Bahman respectively of the 18th regnal year.²

The next account of Fidā'ī Khān we get in *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*. In the 20th regnal year he was sent to Prince Parwiz with orders for Mahābat Khān to leave the Prince and proceed to Bengal. The Prince however was unwilling to part with Mahābat Khān and accept Khān Jahān as vakīl. Nevertheless Fidā'ī Khān sent messengers for Khān Jahān and informed the the Emperor of the Prince's wish. A firman chastised the Prince and warned him not to disobey the imperial orders.³

Although, as we have seen earlier, Fidā'ī Khān owed his rise to power to Mahābat Khān, he changed side at will and had of late attached himself to Nūr Jahān.⁴

During this time the ruling faction led by the Empress, got jealous of Mahābat Khan. An incident of the court demonstrates the deep-rooted animosity that they bore against the general. Mahābat Khān had affianced his daughter to Barkhurdar, son of Khwāja 'Umar Nakshabandī, without the customary royal assent. They made a capital of the occurrence and at their instance the Emperor called the young man, treated him in the most humiliating manner, gave orders for binding his hands to his neck and for taking him bare headed to prison'.⁵ Fidā'ī Khān was commissioned to forfeit the dowry that Mahābat Khān offered the unhappy son-in-law and deposit it in the Imperial Exchequer.

1. *Tūzūk* vol. II, p. 249

2. *Ibid*, p. 284-87

3. *Iqbāl Namā-i-Jahāngīrī* (Elliot & Dawson, vol. VI,) p. 418.

4. Beni prasad-*History of Jahangir*, p. 347.

5. *Iqbāl Nāma* (Elliot & Dawson, vol. VI). p. 420

In retaliation Mahābat Khān staged a *coup-de-main* on the bank of the Jhelum and took the Emperor a prisoner. At the first receipt of the news Fidā'ī Khān attacked Mahābat Khān with several followers hours before the dawn of 20th Farwardīn. The enemy however was too strong for him. Four of his companions fell in the scuffle and when he saw that he could not reach His Majesty and that his effort must fail, he retreated and crossed the river.

On the 20th Farwardīn of the Ilāhī year, he along with the loyal army attacked Mahābat Khān. At great difficulty he was able to cross the river and reach the house of Shahriyār where the Emperor was staying. He fought valiantly but found that the attempt at rescuing the emperor was fruitless. He passed through the camp and went up the river.

After the unsuccessful attempt, he repaired to Rohtas. He left his family with Badr Bakhsh Januha (Janjua) the Zamindar of Girjhak Nandana which is near the hill of Kangra and hastened for Hindusthan.

In the 22nd year of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed governor of Bengal following the accidental death of Mukarram Khān.

After the death of Jahāngīr he was raised to the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse in the reign of Shāh Jahān. He had the fortune of paying his homage to the Emperor several times and serving him loyally in various capacity. He died in the 19th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

From an account of these Fidā'ī Khāns aforesaid, it appears to me that the Fidā'ī Khān last mentioned is the Fidā'ī Khān of our problem. This is true from the chronological as well as factual standpoints. Coming to the chronological side, we find that the episode took place during the 'Ilāhī sana 21' of Jahāngīr's reign. We perhaps face a problem here with regard to the Ilāhī era. According to Tabqat-i-Akbarī Ilāhī era dates from Akbar's accession to the throne, which was Friday the 2nd of Rabī'us Sānī, A.H. 963, or 15th Feb. A. D. 1556.¹ According to this, therefore, the 21 Ilāhī year corresponds to $1556 + 21 = 1577$ A. D., when, we know for certain, Jahangir did not even ascend the throne, his year

1. Alexander Cunningham; Book of Indian Eras p. 83.

of accession being A.D. 1605. This then is evidently impossible.

Further, there is a passage in the 'Iqbal Nāma' wherein the author in giving an account of the annals of 21st year of Jahangir's reign mentions that in course of Mahābat's rebellion "on Sunday the 20th Farwardīn of the Ilāhī year", the loyal imperial army "determined to pass the river.....by a ford."¹ Although the Ilāhī era mentioned here does not specifically tell us of the Ilāhī year, it is evident that it corresponds with the 21st regnal year. We have further proofs that the Ilāhī year sometimes has been identified with the regnal year. Marsden has published a coin of Shāh Jahān with the date of Sunnh 5, Ilahi, coupled with the Hijra date 1041. "But in this case" aptly points out Cunningham, "The Ilahi year would appear to be only the *jalus* or year of king's reign."²

In our case the Ilāhī year appears only to be the solar year counted with effect from the year of Jahangir's accession to the throne.

In view of all these evidences we can reasonably and confidently identify the *Ilahi Sunnh 21* mentioned in the firman as the 21st year of Jahangir's reign corresponding to 1626 A. D.

Now, we find that the first Fidā'ī Khān i. e. Sulaimān Beg died in the 13th regnal year. The second i. e. Mīr Zarīf and the 3rd Muhammad Sālīḥ served under Emperors Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb respectively. As such we can conclusively say that, Hidāyatullāh is the Fidā'ī Khān of our discourse. Both chronology and facts of history support this view of ours.

Turning to Rāja Kalyān we once again face the similar problem of identifying the Rāja Kalyān of our narrative from among three persons bearing the same name.

(i) *Rāja Kalyān of Idar.*

He was the Zamindar of the province of Idar. In the 12th regnal year he paid homage to Emperor Jahāngīr³ and was presen-

1. *Iqbal Nama* (Elliot & Dawson) vol. VI, p. 425.

2. Cunningham, *Book of Indain Eras*, p. 83.

3. *Tuzuk* (Rogers & Beveridge) vol. I, p. 427.

ted with elephants.¹ The last reference to him we get in connection with Shāh Jahān's rebellion. We find that the imperial vans were led by Nahir Khān and Rāja Kalyān in an engagement with Shāh Jahān's army which occurred sometime in June 1623. The imperialists won the day and the leaders of the campaign were hand-somely rewarded. Nahir Khān received a manṣab of 3000 zāt and 2000 sawār.² Others were suitably rewarded but we do not come across the name of Raja Kalyān any more, nor do we know anything about his reward.

(ii). *Rāja Kalyān of Ratanpur.*

He was the Zamindar of Ratanpur. A reference to him occurs in the Tūzuk. We find that in the 14th regnal year Prince Parwīz produced him before the Emperor. As the Emperor writes in his Tūzuk, "He (Parwīz) had brought with him to the court, which is the asylum of the world, Rāja Kalyān, Zamindar of Ratanpur, against whom this my son had by order sent an army and had taken from him as an offering 80 elephants and Rs. 100,000. My son brought him with him and he had the good fortune to kiss the threshold."³ Nowhere else do we come across a reference to him.

(iii) *Rāja Kalayān of Orissa :—*

He was the son of Todar Mall, one of the great pillars of Akbar's court.

He was governor of Orissa from 1611 to 1617 A.D. In 1611 he invaded the kingdom of Khurda. Purushottama, the king of Khurda,⁴ being defeated, made peace, sent his daughter to the Mughal seraglio and paid the stipulated tribute along with Sheshnag,

1. *Tūzuk* vol. I, p. 428.

2. The zāt was the personal rank of a mansabdar, but to this was added a number of extra horsemen for which an officer was allowed to draw extra allowance, and this was called his Sawār rank. Order of precedence was determined according to the zat rank.

3. *Tūzuk* (Rogers & Beveridge) vol. II. p. 93.

4. Khurda—a comparatively primitive district lying on the borders of Orissa and Golconda See p 260, Beni prasad.

a renowned elephant as present.¹ In the 11th regnal year the Emperor exalted Kalyan "with the tika of Rājā and the title of Rawal".² In the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign he came from the province of Orissa to pay homage to the Emperor. As certain unpleasant stories were told about him the Emperor gave order, to hand him over with his son to Āsaf Khān for proper investigation into the charge. -The Emperor however viewed the 18 elephants offered by the Rājā, chose sixteen for his private elephant stud and presented him with two. On enquiry his innocence was clearly proved and Rājā Kalyān was acquitted. The Emperor gave him a robe of honour and a horse and "appointed him to do duty together with Mahābat Khān in Bangash."³

According to "Chronicles of Jagannath" he was killed by the king of Khurda. But the statement is a white lie, for, as mentioned above "he lived to return to court and was attached to the force of Mahābat Khān in Kabul".⁴

From the above account it is clear that the last mentioned Rājā Kalyān is the personage in reference to the present context. He had a distinguished career and that the attributes mentioned in the firman can only apply in his case. As son of the great Todar Mall he was one of the front-row nobles of the court, held important office in the governance of the Empire and was entrusted with a few major operations of the state.

With regard to the Khān Khanān, we need not enter into any discussion in view of the fact that there was only one Khān Khanān namely Abdur Rahīm Khan Khanān, the illustrious son of the illustrious Bairam Khān, 'the real author of Mughal restoration.'

We may now safely go in for an examination of the intriguing nature of the episode mentioned at the outset. The problem arises out of the fact that the firman is dated 17th Farwardīn, Ilāhī sana 21 corresponding to the 21st regnal year.

1. Beni. Prasad - *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 262.

2. *Tūzūk* (Rogers & Beveridge) vol. I. p. 326.

3. *Ibid*, p. 402.

4. R. D. Banerjee :- *History of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 35., also see Beni Prasad : *History of Jahangir*, P-187.

It appears according to the firman that with effect from sometime before 17th Farwardīn of the said year, both Khān Khanān and Fidā'ī Khān had unfurled the banner of rebellion and fled away. But all recorded historical works of the time point out that Fidā'ī Khān accompanied the Emperor to the bank of the Jhelum in his fateful journey to Kabul. When the Emperor was taken captive by Mahābat Khān on the 19th Farwardin, it was Fidā'ī who, true to his salt, on receipt of the information first rushed to the bridgehead. The bridge having been burnt, he rode his horse across the river, fought desperately for the rescue of the Emperor and after the fruitless attempt came back to the camp. Further, once again on the 20th Farwardīn he forded the river and made a reckless charge for effecting freedom of the Emperor and when he failed in his attempt, repaired towards Rohtas.

All these clearly go against the contents of the firman. Yet in the very face of it we cannot call the firman a spurious one, as it bears the insignia of the Emperor.

The firman terms Fidā'ī Khān as 'Harāmkhōr' i. e. ungrateful. But the records of history stand against such an accusation. There was no doubt a charge brought against him of his complicity in the rebellion of Shāh Jahān, but investigation proved the allegation to be baseless and false, and his sincerity having been manifest, he received promotion in rank from the Emperor himself. As to the Emperor, being angry with the Khān Khanān like wise, there is nothing on record for the time in referece to our context. All these naturally lead us to enquire as to the authenticity or otherwise or the identity of the real author of the firman.

When we consider the rise of Fidā'ī Khān to eminence, we go back to the days when, as a soldier of fortune he was presented before the Royal Assembly under the patronage of Mahābat Khān. To Mahābat Khān he owed his rise, but later we find that Fidā'ī Khān allies himself with Nūr Jahān who was antagonistic to the power and influence of the resourceful General. Then again we find Fidā'ī Khān performing the unpleasant task of forfeiting the dowry that the General had given to the son-in-law, the marriage having been contracted without the customary prior approval of the Emperor. For all these it is Mahābat

Khān alone who might have reason to call Fidā'ī Khān a 'harāmkhōr.' And his repeated attempts at rescue of the Emperor when the Emperor was captive in the General's hand and his flight after failure might naturally enrage the great General against him. The General might reasonably be afraid that such a strong firebrand adherent of the Emperor, if free, might in conjunction with the powerful noble the Khān Khanān, organise a strong resistance to the machination of the General. To forestall such a move he might have used the imperial insignia to issue a firman of the nature in our possession. The Emperor having now been in his power could not naturally stand against his will. We have a testimony from Mu'tamid khān to that effect. He says, "Every minute some design or some anxiety entered his (Mahābat's) mind and caused regret. His Majesty made no opposition to any of his proposals."¹

We have no reference in the contemporary history as to the whereabouts of Rāja Kalyān at the time. Fidā'ī Khān's flight towards Rohtas leads us to suppose that Rāja Kalyān might at that time have been holding some fief in Eastern India. And that was why the firman was addressed to him.

Let us now consider the date of the firman. The Emperor was taken prisoner on the 19th Farwardīn and the news was surely noised abroad throughout the Empire with immediate effect. In order to give a seeming genuineness to the firman *vis a vis* the flight of Fidā'ī Khān after his abortive attempts at rescue of the Emperor and to allay the suspicion from the mind of the Rāja the resourceful General might have wilfully used a past date, namely the 17th Farwardīn in a most astute and diplomatic way.

In view of the contradictory nature of the firman, the contents of which are against all facts of recorded history I have given above the only logical and reasonable explanation I can think of.

1. Iqtānāma (Elliot and Dowson, vol. VI, p. 42)

AN IVORY MINIATURE OF THE LATER MUGHAL PERIOD

Mukhlesur Rahman

The miniature painting we are going to examine here was sent as a gift to the Varendra Research Museum in January, 1956 by the Puthia *Raj* Estate in the district of Rajshahi, through Pandit M. M. Chowdhury, Kavyatirtha. The *rajahs* of Puthia enjoy a great reputation not only as the oldest zaminders of North Bengal, but also for charity, public works and patronage of arts and letters. They come of an ancient Brahmin family whose history has been traced back to the times of Akbar.¹

The miniature seeks to represent what is generally accepted as the portrait of Mumtāz Mahal, the most beloved consort of the Emperor Shāhjahān. It is executed on a very thin panel of ivory which is oval in shape, and measures along its centre, four and half inches in length and three and half inches in breadth. The portrait does not bear the signature of the artist, but on the reverse side occurs in black the word '*Mumtaz*' in Persian character. The painting is in a fair state of preservation, the colours having slightly faded at places owing to the neglect on the part of its owners.

The picture does not seem to be a mere imitation of some original; it is an independent work, though it must be admitted, the likeness drawn here by the artist is entirely a product of imagination. The artist could not have before him an original portrait of the Mughal Empress as no such authentic work has yet been found to be extant. Experts have cast doubt, quite rightly too, about the existence of pictures purporting to be the

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1. For the origin and history of the Puthia Raj family see Calcutta Review, Vol. XCI, pp. 1-4; *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, p. 123 and 821; L. S. S. O'malley: Rajshahi District Gazetteer, pp. 176-78; N. K. Bhattashli: Bengal Past and Present, Vol. XXXV, pt. I, pp. 36-37.

portraits of the inmates of the Mughal harem. The Mughal Portrait artists, we are told,¹ had to devote their attention chiefly to the men debarred as they were by social and domestic customs from selecting their subjects from among the fair sex who lived in strict seclusion. Even the liberal Jahāngīr, who yielded to the demands of his strong-willed Queen Nūr Jahān to appear in public, or take an active part in the chase, does not appear to have commissioned any of his artists to make pictorial records of his wife's doing outside the *purdah*. The Italian Manucci strongly asserts: "I donot bring forward any portraits of queens or princesses, for it is impossible to see them, thanks to their being always concealed. If any one has produced such portraits, they should not be accepted...which have been drawn according to the artist's fancy."² And agreeing with the famous Italian, Percy Brown remarks, "Until, therefore, more substantial proofs are forthcoming that the artists were allowed to make direct studies of ladies of the Indian households, Manucci's statement may be accepted as a fairly accurate description of female portraiture under the Mughals."³

It is somewhat difficult to assign a date to the miniature. We are certain it does not belong to the period of Shāhjahān (1627-58) for, it is well known that though copious use had been made of ivory by Indian artists as a medium of minor arts since very ancient times, no Indian painting on this material antedates the nineteenth century. Moreover, the practice of painting on ivory is neither of Indian origin nor of Persian extraction, but was introduced into this subcontinent by the Europeans towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Art critics have established beyond doubt the influence of European art traditions on the pictorial art of the Mughal period. According to Coomaraswamy, "there can be no doubt that the European elements in Mughal art can be traced directly

1. Percy Brown : Indian Paintings under the Mughals, p. 157

2. Quoted in Percy Brown Indian Paintings under the Mughals, p. 157

3. Ibid, p. 158

to the influence of pictures and engravings brought by the Jesuits, and by other travellers such as Sir Thomas Roe, and presented by them to Akbar and Jahāngīr".¹ Both the Emperors are known to have displayed great fondness for European pictures, copies of which were made by the court artists. We thus hear of an album consisting of such copies made by Kesava Das (*Keshu*) in 1588. Shāhjahān, whose passion rather lay in architecture, was nevertheless interested in Western works and in many of the paintings of his reign European influence is evident, particularly, in the increased use of linear perspective. But contact with European art traditions did not become more intimate till towards the close of the eighteenth century when Western artists came to visit India. It was at this period that the technique of painting on ivory came to this sub-continent from the West and was adopted within a short time by Indian artists as one of their favourite forms of expression. It also became highly popular with the painters of the later Mughal school then flourishing at Delhi, Lucknow, Patna and Banaras.²

As regards the miniature under discussion we would claim that it is an early nineteenth century work. In support of this contention it may be pointed out that notwithstanding the European technique, the miniature unmistakably reflects many of the characteristics of the older school of Mughal painting. Our claim may appear as quite reasonable if we remember the surprising revival of Mughal painting in the early part of the eighteenth century, both in quality and quantity. This fact, as well as a careful examination of the composition and colour scheme of the present painting not only strengthens our claim as to its dating, but also distinguishes it from those nineteenth century ivory paintings all of which have been regarded as "painstaking but lifeless imitations of older portraits, miniatures and architectural scenes".³ It is quite obvious, our

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1. A. K. Coomaraswamy : Catalogue of the Indian Collection, Pt. VI Mughal Painting, p. 10.
 2. Moti Chand : The Technique of Mughal Painting, p. 15.
 3. Coomaraswamy : Catalogue of the Indian Collections, Pt. VI, Mughal Paintings, p. 13.

unknown artist in executing his commission, was guided more by the precepts of the older Mughal School than by the dictates of a contemporary degenerate style.

The subject of the portrait is an extremely handsome woman in the prime of her youth and aristocratic in origin. She is shown as seated on a wooden chair, her head and body inclining slightly to the left. The back-rest of the chair is richly curved and inlaid with ivory and round beads of coloured stones. A portion of the inlay work around the centre of the back-rest, consists of small plants with green leaves and red flowers. The centre of the back-rest is upholstered in blue velvet in an oval frame of curved wood which is also inlaid with beads of coloured stones. The lady reclines on a cushion, which is in reality, a long, fat, round pillow with a covering of some rich, orange coloured material having golden '*butis*' between parallel lines of gold. The back-rest of the chair is shaped like that of a throne with tre-foiled sides whose cyma curves meet at a sharp point from which rises what looks like a miniature finial delicately curved in ivory.

The artist has drawn the portrait in three-quarter style which was in vogue during the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr. He has thus offered to the view, not only two-thirds of the face, but also as much of the body as has been included in the composition. The right arm of the lady is raised diagonally across the body as far as the middle of the bosom. The thumb, middle and the ring fingers of this hand are curved inwards, while the remaining two are pointed downwards. The left hand, which rests on the cushion, is bent upwards from the elbow with palm turned towards right. A white rose with green leaves and slightly tinted with red, so as to distinguish the petals, is held between the thumb and fore-finger in an attitude of carrying it to the nose to appreciate its smell. The other three fingers are loosely bent towards the palms. The palms are dyed red with *henna*, so are the tapering fingers to about a quarter of their length from the tips.

Such portions of the physiognomy which are not obscured by dress or otherwise, consist of the fore-head, face, throat,

right ear, hands and some portion of the bosom. These are ivory-white except the places where shading has been used and the lips which indicate a faint touch of red. The head of the subject is well shaped and its body is that of a woman in the best enjoyment of her health. The breasts appear as rather too prominent at first sight, but these have been skilfully attuned to the well-formed features in outlining which the artist appears to have maintained the proportions.

The black and glossy hair of the subject has been shown as done up in short braids which fall on her shoulders, three on the right and two on the left. The eye-brows are not joined. They are black, long and slightly arched, but though having an upward slant after the Indian fashion, they have been drawn rather thickly as can be seen in many of the nineteenth century works. The eye-lashes and the pupils are not black as in Mughal portraiture, but have been painted in delicate sepia. The silken effect of the eye-lashes indicate expert brush work. Stippling or shading has been used with great success in delineating the eye-lids. The eyes are long and reminiscent of the older school. Due care has been taken in drawing the nose—evidence of expert brush-work again—and also the nostrils, mouth, the not too pointed chin and the rest of the face. Light shade of sepia has been used in marking out the nostrils, and on the left half of the throat which is under the shadow of the chin. In drawing the hands the artist has succeeded to an appreciable extent in putting into them that distinguishing quality which characterises the best specimens of the older school.

It will appear from the texts, as well as numerous paintings, that female dress in the Mughal period, especially those worn by the ladies of the royal seraglio, consists of the following items : a bodice, a long shirt, close-fitting trousers and a scarf. The bodice is of some rich material, such as silk, satin or brocade, embroidered with floral designs. The trousers are also made of silk printed with flowers or multi-coloured stripes. The shirt is open at the neck, has long sleeves, and hangs loosely on the body. Both the shirt and scarf are of transparent material, i. e. Muslin, having small or large flowers in some light colour. But

the costumes of the lady in this miniature differ substantially from those just mentioned. They are modelled rather on the garments worn by the male, particularly the emperors, as seen in the paintings of the 15th and 17th centuries. They consist, in place of the bodice, of a long shirt of silk, open at the throat and cut like a 'V' just above the bosom from which it is buttoned downwards upto the waist. Its tight-fitting long sleeves have frills of bright red silk. The shirt is also close-fitting upto the waist where it appears to be bound by an emerald-green shawl, one end of which is flowing diagonally across her lap. Over the shirt is a robe of rich brocade with short tight-fitting sleeves reaching upto the elbow and open at the front. A muslin scarf hangs from the shoulders. The head-dress is peculiar, it is neither a turban worn by the male, nor is it like the thin cap sometimes used by the women of this period. It looks like a diadem, wide and semi-circular in shape, whose multi-foiled upper rim is longer than the lower one which sits closely on the head of the lady. The corners of the upper rim slightly curve inwards to meet those of the lower one. It appears to have been made of some stiff material, probably a thin plate of gold, and its golden surface is studded with pearls, rubies, diamonds and emeralds in linear and floral designs. The centre of the diadem is profusely decorated with jewels in circular and leaf patterns from which as many as seven emeralds dangle on the noble brow of the lady. These decorations serve as the base for an exquisitely curved golden leaf pointed upwards, to which are attached three ornamental plumes in black, red and yellow. Two pendants of pearls and emeralds hang from the corners of the upper rim of the head-dress.

The garments and the decorative plumes of the diadem suggest strong Persian influence; so does the emerald green shawl with a frill of the same colour, shown here as a '*cummarbund*'. The shawl's wide border consists of three parallel lines, of which the side ones are richly embroidered in gold and the middle one is deep blue. Geometrical patterns worked in golden thread decorate the ground of the shawl, Persian influence is

further apparent in the long shirt on the sleeves of which appear two large flower patterns in gold. The neck-line of the shirt, which descends on the bosom like a 'V' has an ornamental border in red and gold, dotted with green. The golden ground of the outer robe exhibits a profusion of geometrical designs in red and green and spaces not covered by these are dotted with green and white.

Further decorative elements of the picture have been provided by the jewellery which adorn the ears, wrists, neck and the bosom of the lady. Her right ear is diagonally clasped by a gold ornament set with pearls. From the lobe of the ear is suspended an ear-ring of pearls and emeralds. Another ornament, consisting of four strings of pearls held together and joined with a single string of pearls by means of clasps, hangs from this ear reaching upto the shoulder. It has also a pendant of rubies and diamonds. A portion of this ornament together with the pendant can be seen touching the left shoulder. The clasps, by which the four strings have been held together, are made of gold ; they are rectangular in size, with a ruby in the middle. The ornaments around the lady's neck are Indian and consist of the following items : one is a wide and close-fitting necklace of six strings of pearls with one string of emeralds shaped like grapes at the bottom end. On its wide surface, are circular designs in gold set with emeralds. Just below this piece is another neck adornment composed of leaf patterns held together by a thin gold chain, each leaf having been made of gold set with pearls, diamonds and a ruby in the middle. A somewhat long string of pearls can be seen held up by the lady's right hand. Also suspended around the neck and reaching upto the waist is another pearl necklace whose strings are held together by emerald clasps at regular intervals. Just above the elbow and the end of the short sleeves of the outer robe, can be seen a pair of armlets made of diamonds, emeralds and pearls, all arranged in floral motifs and set in gold. Bracelets of gold inlaid with emeralds, diamonds and rubies and gold bangles set with pearls appear on the two wrists of the lady, but there are no rings on her fingers.

Influences of several art traditions are at play in this miniature. We have touched on some of these in course of our discussion ; the rest may be pointed out now. The colour scheme of the picture and the drawing of the features are in true Mughal style of the 17th century ; so are the richness of the garments and the head-dress whose decorative purpose has been accentuated by a free use of gold. The golden green background, the blue of the long shirt, the emerald green of the shawl around the waist, the golden texture of the outer robe and heavy jewellery are strongly reminiscent of the older Mughal School of painting. Like the old *Masterpieces*, the artist has used the jewellery with considerable effect as a foil to the delicately painted face. The ivory-white of the face, throat, and the hands, as well as, the red frills at the long sleeves of the shirt, no doubt indicate European influence. Much though the artist conforms to the technique of painting on ivory¹ imported from the West, he yet appears to have rigorously adhered to the principles of Mughal portraiture at its height. In short, the portrait has been drawn in a style in which the art traditions of India, Iran and Europe have been completely assimilated.

The bright orange colour of the cushion is most likely to suggest the hand of some Hindu painter as responsible for the miniature.² But Hindu or Muslim, our unknown artist has demonstrated beyond doubt his admirable brush work. This can be judged from the subtle modelling of the features by delicate and carefully blended tones which appear to have revealed the life and character of the subject. Soberness of character, purity of heart³

1. See Moti Chandra : *The Technique of Mughal Painting*, pp. 14-15.

2. Compare paintings by Govardhan and Manohar respectively frontispiece and Plate XXXI in Percy Brown : *Indian Paintings under the Mughals*. Also compare the painting reproduced on Plate XLII of the same book. It appears that bright yellow and orange were favourite colours of the Hindu painters at the Mughal court.

3. Beni Prasad : *History of Jahangir*, p. 191.

and a kindly disposition have been written large on the face of the lady whom the artist has made to impersonate here the noble Mughal Queen Mumtāz Maḥal. The artist has further succeeded in revealing the subject's mood, one of great dignity but quite unaffected by her royal robes, costly jewellery and spectacular head-dress.

These constitute the chief merit of the miniature and distinguishes it from the hundreds and thousands of ivory miniatures, all branded as cheap imitations, produced at the art centres of Delhi, Lucknow, Banaras and Patna in the nineteenth century.

CHINESE PORCELAIN IN THE DACCA MUSEUM¹.

Donald K. Adams

It has been said that a nation's culture can be read in the domestic objects it leaves behind. Had no historical records, no sculpture, no painting and no architecture survived the centuries, the pottery and porcelain manufactured in China would alone remain as eloquent testimony to the advanced civilization of that nation.

Visitors to the Dacca Museum, intent on seeing the Buddhist and Hindu sculptures, often overlook a small collection of Chinese porcelain, composed chiefly of gifts by Khan Sahib Abul Hasanat and by Mr. S.M. Taifoor. Although the collection is not extensive nor does it date as far back as the T'ang or Sung dynasties, some of the items are well worth describing and illustrating as examples of Chinese porcelain of the last three hundred years. None of the pieces is signed or dated.

It is true that Chinese trade with Moghul India has not been a subject of extensive research, but there exists ample evidence in modern Indian museums that pottery and porcelain formed a considerable part of the merchant caravans that moved into northern India. For such artistic and useful objects wealthy and noble persons in India and Persia were able to return gold, a commodity much sought by the Chinese court. The pottery and porcelain vessels were often imported in such sizes and shapes as would make them useful as well as decorative. Large jars, for example, were imported during Moghul times as receptacles for the storage of sugar and other kitchen staples. Plates and bowls were always prized for their utility when meals were served. In the later periods, from which the present specimens date, function gave way to aesthetic appeal. But even these more recent products of the skill of Chinese potters retain the shapes and sizes popular in earlier times.

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1. I am indebted to Dr. A. H. Dani, curator of the museum for calling my attention to these porcelains, and to Mr. Y. Hyder for kindly assisting me in dating them.

The dish or shallow bowl illustrated in Figure 1 is a handsome example of the sturdy and heavy celadon, a ware (as Hobson points out) "admirably suited for the export trade."¹ This specimen, which is the largest of a number of celadon plates in the museum collection, is of a sea-green tint, with incised flutings below the heavy rim. Much fine celadon was manufactured in the T'ang and Sung periods and was sought after not only in China but also in India and Persia for its strength, beauty, and of course its reputed ability to protect the lives of its owners; it was said that poisoned food, if placed on a celadon dish, would cause the plate or bowl to shatter. Celadon porcelain continued popular with collectors through the succeeding centuries and, indeed, remains so today. The illustrated specimen dates from the early seventeenth century, presumably the late Ming period.

Of similar size, the other large dish illustrated (in Figure 2) is an attractive example of the other type of porcelain manufactured by Chinese potters that remains a strong rival in fame and popularity to celadon itself. This is the blue and white. Examples of blue and white ware date back as early as the fourteenth century, and by Ming times it had become a major staple of the production of Chinese pottery centers. In these times supplies of the precious blue pigment known as Mohammedan blue were brought overland from Persia to enrich the rather dull native Chinese blues. The blue and white porcelain, which continued popular in K'ang Hsi times, began to decrease in the eighteenth century, largely because the growing European markets for Chinese porcelain were demanding the use of other colors. But the blue and white production of this later period remained admirable, and many fine pieces were produced which tend to be underrated by collectors today.² All three specimens of blue and white illustrated—the plate in Figure 2, the bowl in Figure 3, and the

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1. R. L. Hobson. *Handbook of the Pottery and Porcelain of the Far East*. London, British Museum, 1948, P. 23.
 2. Soame Jenyns. *Later Chinese Porcelain: The Ching Dynasty (1644-1912)*. London, Faber and Faber, 1951. P. 46.

jar in Figure 4 – may be assigned to the mid or late eighteenth century, that is, to the Ch'ien Lung period (1736-1795). The texts from the Qurān which decorate the rim of the plate serve to remind the visitor that many of the Chinese factories produced wares to the special order of the Moghul court.

The large jar (19 3/4" high, exclusive of cover, which is not shown) is decorated below the neck with an elaborate design of conventionalized flowers and leaves. Beneath this border is a landscape of mountains, lake, trees, buildings, and miniature figures. The judiciously arranged details of the scene convey a pleasing sense of perspective and distance. On the exterior of the bowl (Figure 3) are musicians; the bottom of the interior of this bowl is also decorated.

Four other jars of similar size but polychrome decoration are grouped in the museum with the blue and white specimen. Three of these colorful jars are illustrated (Figure 5, 6, 7), and all seem to be slightly later in date than the blue and white, probably early nineteenth century. The jar in Figure 5 is an example of *famille verte*, the green family, whose brightly enamelled and colorful glaze, like that of the *famille rose*, made this porcelain popular in the export trade when relief from blue and white was called for. The background here is of turquoise green, against which are displayed leaves of blue green and grass green. In contrast are the large flowers of indeterminate species which the imaginative visitor may identify as roses.

An effect of enamel work in metal is conveyed by the third of these large jars (Figure 6). Here the ground is of an unusually pale green, which is particularly effective in setting off the profusion of flowers, fruits, birds, butterflies and other flying insects. At the base of the jar is a border of turquoise, blue and rose.

The jar pictured in Figure 7 is one of a pair (only one of which retains a cover). The decoration is in the Canton style which, as Jenyns reminds us, often produces the effect of a European miniature on ivory and utilizes such favorite themes as peacocks, quail, and Chinese ladies and children.¹

1. Soame Jenyns, op. cit. P. 58.

The ground in this case is white against which there is a great deal of minute and colorful detail, a detail which in the scenes enclosed within elaborate frames tends to become unnecessarily fussy. The confusion of rich colors and gold, and the small scale of the scenes, tends a little to distract the viewer from noticing the proportions of the jar itself.

In the last illustration (Figure 8) are shown a *famille verte* dish and a late blue and white jar, presumably a ginger jar. The dish has a background of grass green, with blue green leaves and flowers of red and white. It probably dates from the early nineteenth century. The blue and white jar is of about the same age. The curling leaves are of an unusually rich blue, which reminds us that China had discovered a local substitute for the expensive Mohammedan blue of earlier periods. This substitute blue was no-doubt a form of cobalt.

WHY WAS FATHPŪR SĪKRĪ BUILT ?

Dr. A. B. Musharaf Husain

SĪkrī is said to be a village of considerable antiquity. Except the mention of the erection of two mosques there in the time of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī (A. D. 1296-1316) ¹ and of its occupation about the 14th century by Sikarwar Rajputs who came from Dholpur,² the name of SĪkrī does not seem to have occurred in history until 1527 A. D. In that year Bābur, on his way to attack the confederate Afghān and Hindu Chieftains, pitched his camp there, and utterly defeated them at Khānwāh, ten miles distant in Bharatpur territory. Abul Fazl suggests that it was on account of this victory that the place obtained its name of Fathpūr,³ but there seems to be no doubt that the appellation was given to it by Akbar after his victories in Gujrāt. ⁴ Finch's description ⁵ that the place "was at first called *Sykary* which signifies seeking or hunting" has been challenged by Foster ⁶ who writes that "SĪkrī is the name of the original village, and has nothing to do with "Shikār, (hunting)." In the *Ain* ⁷ SĪkrī has been mentioned as

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1. See : *Āthārī-Akbarī* by Sayyid Ahmad Marahrvi, Agra, 1906, pp. 189-190 Also *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, ed. by J. Horovitz, 1909-10, Calcutta, 1912, P. 82.
 2. *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces*, Vol. VIII Agra, 1921, P. 250.
 3. In *Akbarnāmāh* Abul Fazl Writes : "His Majesty after returning thanks for his victory, by giving diacritical points, named *Shukrī* (thanksgiving)" Beveridge's ; tr. vol I, Calcutta 1903, pp. 259-260; text, Nawāl Kishore ed. vol. I, A. H. 1284 P. 130.
 4. *Tūẓuk-i-Jahangiri*, Rogers and Beveridge's tr. London, 1909, P. 2.
 5. See. Foster's *Early Travels in India*, Oxford, 1921, P, 150
 6. Ibid.
 7. Jarrett's tr. vol. II (revised ed. by J. N. Sarker) p. 191 ; text, Calcutta 1872, P. 441.

“a village formerly one of the dependencies of Biānah” and “situated twelve *kos* distant from Agra”.

The history of Sīkrī between the year 1527, the date of the encampment of Bābur and the battle of Khānwāh, and 1568, the year of the beginning of the foundation of the city by Akbar seems to be obscure. Much is not known about except that Akbar frequented this place and its neighbouring areas for hunting. Akbar was a great lover of hunting and it is interesting to note how Akbar, surrounded by his favourites, went to these places and hunted animals. *Akbar-nāmāh* Ms. illustrates several of the hunting scenes, and Abul Fazl narrates in his chapter “on hunting” in the *‘Āin*² the full details of the story of hunting.

The year 1568 is in many respects important and interesting from our point of view. This year Akbar began the foundation of Fathpūr-Sīkrī, the would-be *Daru-s-Saltanat*, the magnificent ruins of which compel, even in the present day, the admiration of both architect and traveller. The interest lies in the traditional account for the building, an account which seems to be true, and which paints Akbar as “acting under the impulse of overpowering superstitious emotion”.³ The story is thus told by Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad “As on several occasions, His Majesty had son⁴ born to him, who had died (in their infancy) His Holiness the asylum of the country, who was acquainted with all the truths and had knowledge of God, ShaiKh Salīm Chīshī, who resided in the town of Sīkrī, which was within twelve *karohs* of Agra, and

1. Victoria & Albert Museum Copy. London.

2. Blochmann's tr. (revised ed. by D. C. Phillott, Calcutta 1939) pp. 292-297; text, Calcutta 1872, pp. 205-207.

3. V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mughal*, Oxford, 1917, p. 444.

4. The sons here refer to the twins, born on 3rd Rabi'ul-Awwal 972/A. D. 1564. They received the names of Hasan and Husain, an indication probably that their father was then under the influence of Persian Shīahs. They lived for only a month. The name of their mother is not recorded. The words “several occasions” do not seem to be appropriate here because before Salīm we have the mention of only the above mentioned twins.

of whom His Majesty the Khalīfa-i-Ilāhī had a high opinion and to whom he had gone on several occasions, to see him, and had stayed in his house for several days, and the holy man had given him glad tidings of the arrival of prosperous sons, His Majesty had great hopes ; and he went several times to see the Shaiḥ¹, and he stayed with him, each time for ten or twenty days, and laid the foundation of a lofty building on the top of a hill, near the Khānqā² of the Shaiḥ. For the Shaiḥ also the foundation of a new Khānqā, and a lofty mosque, the equal of which is not to be found to-day anywhere in the world, was laid in the neighbourhood of the royal palaces. Each one of the Amīrs also built a mansion or house for himself. As one of the consorts became *enciente* at this time, His Majesty took her to Sīkrī, and left her in the house of the Shaiḥ; and he himself remained sometime in Agra and sometime in Sīkrī. He gave the name of Fathpūr³ to Sīkrī, and ordered the erection of bazars and public baths there.”⁴

In describing the circumstances that led to the building of the city, Badāonī⁵ writes : “Now the Emperor had had several children in succession born to him, and they had all passed away

1. Akbar earnestly desired to be blessed with a son, and was assiduous in his prayers also at the shrines of other famous Muslim saints at Delhi, Ajmīr, and elsewhere. He made a point of performing every year a pilgrimage to the tomb of ShaiḤ Mu‘inu-d-dīn Chishtī at Ajmīr, and maintained the practice until 1579, when he made his last visit in Rajab (7th month) A. H. 987 (See V. A. Smith, op. cit. p. 102)
2. Khānqā has been translated into English as monastery. Salīm chishtī, had settled among the rocks and wild beasts as a hermit in A. D. 1537-8/A. H. 944, and in the year following had constructed the said monastery.
3. The name Fathpūr was given not after the birth of Salīm, but after the conquest of Gujrāt (*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* op. cit. P-2).
4. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, B. De’s tr. Calcutta, 1936, p. 356.
5. *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, Lowe’s tr. Calcutta 1924, P. 112. text, Calcutta, 1865, p, 109.

at a tender age. In this year¹ one of the Imperial wives became with child, and he went to beg the intercession of Shaiikh-ul-Islām Chishtī² living at Sīkrī, and he left his Empress at the monastery of the Shaiikh. Sometime before this the Shaiikh had feretold to him the happy birth of a son, and after some days he had gone to visit the Shaiikh in expectation of the fulfilment of his promise. On an account of this bond of union between them the Emperor built a lofty palace³ on the top of the hill of Sīkrī. And he laid the foundation of a new chapel⁴, and of a high and spacious mosque of stone, so large that you would say it was a part of a mountain, and the like of which can scarce be seen in the habitable world. In the space of about five years the building was finished, and he called the place Fathpūr”.

Abul Fazl, in giving an account of the fourteenth year of Akbar's reign informs us in the *Akbarnāmāh* that “Before that time the Emperor had several children born to him, but in the mysterious wisdom of the creator, they had all travelled to the world of eternity, unthinking people attributed this to the un-luckiness of the locality; and the king, wishing to shut the mouth of triflers with the seal of silence, determined on a change of place. The choice falling on Fathpūr, the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, a son⁵ was born to the Emperor at an auspicious hour, by the

1. 976 A. H./1568 A. D.

2. The Shaiikh had a great reputation as a saint, and Blochmann has the following notes (p. 267) “Tying knots or bits of string or ribbon to the tombs of saints is considered by barren women a means of obtaining a son, and the tomb of Salīm Chishtī in Fathpūr-Sīkrī, in whose house Jahāngīr was born, is now-a-days visited by Hindu and Mohamedan women who tie bits of string to the marble trellice surrounding the tomb.” In Abdul Fazl's classification of the learned men of the time, the Shaiikh is put in the second class (see : Monserrate's *Commentary*, J. S. Hoyland's translation, oxford, 1922, p. 32. n.)
3. The palace here probably refers to the building now known as *Rangmahal*.
4. “Chapel” (*Khānqāh*) here probably means a monastery.
5. This was Salīm (afterwards Emperor Jahāngīr), born on Wednesday, 17th Rabi-ul-Awwal, A.H. 977 August 31st, 1569.

Hindu Princess, Mariamu-z-Zamānī,¹ daughter of Rāja Behārī Mal of Amber in the Soobah of Ajmīr, sister to Rāja Bhogwan Das and aunt of Kour Mān Singh".²

The above passages, particularly of Abul Fazal, bring out an important point that Akbar decided to leave Agra soon after the death of his twin sons in 1564, and that the selection of Sīkrī as a site for the capital was made even before the birth of Salīm and Murād³. The birth of Salīm only too gladdened Akbar to hurry to the place, and "to press forward his former design".⁴ The erection of the "palace, mosque, and monastery" in the year 976 A.H.⁵ (1568 A.D.) was the beginning of the foundation of the city of Fathpūr-Sīkrī.

Father Monserrate is substantially right in ascribing the removal of the seat of royal residence to Sīkrī by Akbar to the death of his sons;⁶ but for the first time we read that the death of the sons was due to the cruel spite of the evil spirit that haunted the building at Agra (not the fort, for he had left the place before the red sandstone fort was completed).⁷ So the reason lay in the point of contrast between Agra and Sīkrī, the one had killed his sons, and the other blessed him with sons, Sīkrī was a lucky place for the Emperor in as much as—to quote

1. Akbar married her at Sambhar. She was probably given the title of Mariamu-z-Zamani (Mary of the Age) after the birth of Jahāngīr. She died in Rajab 1032 A. H., 1622 or 1623 A. D.
2. Latif : *Agra*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 127. See also Beveridge's tr. of *Akbarnāmāh*, vol. II, Calcutta 1912, p. 503 ; text, op. cit, vol. II, p. 433.
3. Murād was born of Salima Sultān Bēgam, Bairam Khān's widow, whom Akbar had married, on Thursday, 3rd Muharram, 978 A.H. (8th June, 1570).
4. *Akbarnāmāh*, Beveridge's tr. vol. II op. cit, P, 530; text op. cit, vol. II p. 456.
5. See : Badā'oni, Lowe's tr. op. cit. p. 112., text, op. cit; p. 109.
6. See : *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1914 p. 562.
7. Abul Fazal's sentence quoted above ".....unthinking people attributed this (the death of the twins) to the unluckiness of the locality....." may also mean a similar thing.

Abul Fazl¹ - "his exalted sons (Salīm and Murād) had taken their birth in Sīkrī and the God-knowing spirit of Shaiḥ Salīm had taken possession thereof and hence his (Akbar's) holy heart desired to give outward splendour to this spot which possessed spiritual grandour". Firishta² also mentions a similar thing. "The King" - he writes - "considering the village of Sīkrī a particularly propitious spot, two of his sons having been born there, ordered the foundation of a city to be laid, which, after : the conquest of Gujrāt, he called Fathpūr".

Jahāngīr himself, in his auto-biography,³ relates the incident connected with the foundation of Fathpūr thus :

"My revered father, considering the village of Sīkrī, which was the place of my birth lucky for him, made it his capital. In the course of fourteen or fifteen years that hill, full of wild beasts, became a city containing all Kinds of gardens and buildings, and lofty, elegant edifices and pleasant places attractive to the heart. After he conquest of Gujrāt this village was named Fathpūr".

Fathpūr means "city of victory". The original name *Sīkrī* was retained, and the place has since been known in history by the joint names of Fathpūr-Sīkrī, Finch's translation of "Fetipore" as "a town of content, or place of heart's desire obtained"⁴ is at fault. He perhaps meant that Fathpūr-Sīkrī was the town of content, being the favourite residence of Akbar. Abul Fazal in the *Akbadrnāmāh* says that the Emperor, after the conquest of Gujrāt, gave it the name of Fathābād ("town of victory"), which was soon exchanged in both popular and official use for the synonymous Fathpūr.⁵

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1. *Akbarnāmāh*. Beveridge's 'tr. vol. II, op. cit, p 530 ; text, op. cit, vol. II, p. 456.,
 2. Brigg's translation, Vol. II., Calcutta, 1908, p. 234.
 3. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, op. cit. pp. 1-2
 4. See: W. Foster op. cit., p. 150.
 5. Beveridge's tr. vol. II, op. cit, P. 530; text, op. cit; vol. II, p. 456- The name on the coinage is invariably Fathpūr. We have not found any instance of the actual use of the form Fathābād.

Akbar's anxiety to abandon the inauspicious fortress-palace at Agra, and his desire for a closer contact with the saint, and the birth of his sons were no doubt the primary causes for the building of the city;¹ but the Emperor was certainly lucky enough to be favoured by some of the material factors, without which the idea of the transfer of the capital might not have been realised. The factors may be given as follows :

(1) *The existence of building materials at Fathpūr-Sīkrī.* The quarry at Fathpūr-Sīkrī was a great advantage for the building of the city. In the words of Abul Fazal, "Red sandstone.....is obtainable in the hills of Fathpūr-Sīkrī, His Majesty's residence, and may be broken from the rock at any length or breadth. Clever workmen chisel it so skilfully as no turner could do with wood ; and their works vie with the picture book of Mānī (the great painter of the Sassanides)".² In another place, in giving an account of Fathpūr-Sīkrī, he writes, "In the vicinity is a quarry of red stone whence columns and slabs of any dimensions can be excavated."³ Finch⁴ writing about the quarries

1. Akbar, we must remember, was quite superstitious as most of his contemporaries, in spite of his rationalism. His orthodox piety led him to take interest in the shrines of all important saints, and to give them a wide celebrity by building mosques and tombs. Akbar "was the first ruler of Delhi who took interest in the shrine of Khwāja Mu'inu-d-dīn Chistī at Ajmīr", and built in its vicinity the fine Akbarī Masjid 140 square with and its central arch 56" high, in 1570-71, "presented to the durgah two large war-drums obtained from the Bengal campaign in 1574 and a large cauldron especially made for presentation". At Shapur in Pratapgarh district he built a "Qadam Rasul, a Masjid, and a durgah in 1564-65". He also took notice of Nizāmu-d-dīn Aulia's sanctity by conveying the corpse of his dear minister, Shamsu-d-din Atka Khān, to be buried within the precincts of saint's shrine.

2. 'Āīn, Blochmann's tr. op. cit, p. 233 ; text, op. cit., p. 168.

3. 'Āīn, Jarrett's tr. Vol. II op. cit, P. 191; text, op. cit. p. 442.

4. See: W. Foster, op. cit., p. 157.

“near Fettiport”, says, they “are of such nature that they may be clift like logges and swane like planks to seal chambers and cover houses of a great length and breadth”.

2) *The cheapness of building materials, and of labour.* The cheapness may be understood from the following list of prices and wages¹ :

a) Building materials : *red sandstone*. “Pieces of red sandstone (*sang-i-gulūlah*), broken from the rocks in any shape, are sold by the *p'hari*, which means a heap of such stones, without admixture of earth, 3 *gaz* long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ g. broad, and 1 g. high. Such a heap contains 172 *mans*, and has a value of 250 *d.*, i. e., at the rate of 1 *d.* 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ *j.* *Per man*.”

Bricks. “Bricks are of three kinds : burnt, half burnt, unburnt. Though the first kind are generally made very heavy, they weigh in the average three *sers*, and cost 30 *d. per mille*. The second class cost 24 *d.*, and the third 10 *d. per thousand*.”

Wood. “Eight kinds of wood are in general use.

i) *Sīsaun*. unrivalled for its beauty and durability. A block 1 *Ilāhi gaz* long and 8 *Tassūjes* broad and high, costs 15 *d.* 6 *j.*

ii) *Nazhū* called in Hindi *Jidh*. A beam, 10 T. broad and high, costs *per gaz* 5 *d.* $13\frac{3}{4}$ *j.*

iii) *Dasang* (?), called in Hindi *Karī*, a beam 3 T. bread, and 4 *gaz* long, costs 5 *d.* $17\frac{1}{2}$ *j.*

iv) *Ber*, 1 T. broad and high, 4 *gaz* long, 5 *d.* $17\frac{3}{4}$ *j.*

v) *Mughīlān* (Babūl), of the same cubic content as No. 4., 5 *d.* 2 *j.*

vi) *Sirs*, size as before, 10 *d.* 4 *j.*

vii) *Dayāl*, same size, first quality 8 *d.* $22\frac{1}{4}$ *j.*; second quality, 8 *d.* $6\frac{1}{2}$ *j.*

viii) *Bakāyin*, same size, 5 *d.* 2 *j.*”.

Gaj-i-shīrīn, or *sweet limestone*. “There is a quarry near Bahīrah. When a merchant brings it, it costs 1 *R. per three mans*; but if any one sends his own carriers, only 1 *d.*”

Iron cramps. “If tinned, 13 for 18 *d.*; plain ones for 6 *d.*”

Iron door-knockers. “Tinned, $5\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; plain ones 4 *d.* 12 *j.*”

1. Quoted from Blochmann's tr. of the 'Āīn, op. cit., pp. 233-236; text, op. cit. pp. 167-170.

Gul Mekh (Large nails with broad heads) "12 *d. per ser*".

Screws and nuts. "Tinned, 12 *d. per ser*; plain 4 *d.*"

K'haprel or tiles. "They are one hand long and ten fingers broad, are burnt and are used for roofs of houses, as a protection against heat and cold. Plain ones, 86 *d. per mille*; enamelled, 30 *d. for ten*".

Qulbah or spouts. These are used to lead off water. Three for 2 *d.*".

Bāns or bamboo. "First quality, 15 *d.* for twenty pieces; second quality, 12 *d.* for do; third quality, 10 *d.* for do."

Sīmgil (silver clay). "It is a white and greasy clay, 1 *d. per man.* It is used for white-washing houses".

Glass. "It was used for windows; price 1 *R.* for 1½ *s.*; or one pane for 4 *d.*"

b) Labour: Gilkārs (workers in lime). "First class workmen, 7 *d.*; second class, 6 *d.*; third class, 5 *d.*"

Sangtarāsh (stone-masons). "The tracer gets 6 *d.* for each *gaz*; one who does plain work, 5 *d.*; A labourer employed in quarries gets for every *man* he breaks 22 *j.*".

Carpenters. "First class, 7 *d.*; second class, 6 *d.*; third class, 4 *d.*; fourth class, 3 *d.*; fifth class, 2 *d.*"

Pinjarah sāz (Iatticework and wicker work) "First, when the pieces are joined (fastened with strings), and the interstices be dodecagonal, 24 *d.* for every square *gaz*; when the interstices form twelve circles, 22 *d.*; when hexagonal, 18 *d.*; when 'ja'farī (or rhombus-like, one diagonal being vertical the other horizontal), 16 *d.*; when *shatranjī* (or square fields, as on a chess board), 12 *d.* for every square *gaz*. Secondly, when the work is *ghair waṣli* (the sticks not being fastened with strings, but skilfully and tightly interwoven), for first class work, 48 *d.* per square *gaz*; for second class do. 40 *d.*"

Arrahkash (one who saws beams). "For job-work, per square *gaz*. 2½ *d.*; if *sīsaun* wood; if *nazhū* wood, 2 *d.*"

Bīldārs (bricklayers). "First class, daily 3½ *d.*; second class do. 3 *d.*"

Khisht tarāsh or tile makers, "For 100 moulds, smoothened, 8 *d.*"

A'bkash or water carriers. "First class, 3 *d per diem*: second class do., 2 *d.*"

3. *Suitability of the place for a capital :*

a) Existence of ridges; b) nearness of water.

a) For defensive purposes, a city or a fort on the top of a ridge is more secure than the same on the plain land. Lucien Febvre,¹ in discussing the important elements of growth of fortress towns, writes, "A steep mountain, a hill with precipitous sides, a rock commanding the surrounding plain is an excellent base for a nation to hold which requires a strong place of refuge or a military centre, as in the case of the Acropolis at Athens or the Acrocorinthus or Mont Auxois or the plateaux of Servovia on the lofty Mont Beuvrayon which stand in the ruins of Bibracte or the African Cirta. If the bend of a river,² in addition to the mountain, affords the protection of an impossible fosse, the site is better still; such a one as has been made from Celtic times, and perhaps even earlier, the military fortune of Bosancon, the ancient Vesontie. An island³ is an excellent refuge, easy to defend, as in the case of Tyre or of the Parisian *cité*."

For our purpose here, the importance of the first point is obvious; the city of Fathpūr-Sīkrī is situated on the top of a low range of hills. Instead of the bend of a river, in the second point, the protection of Fathpūr-Sīkrī is well provided by the construction of a lake on the north and north-west frontier.

b) The nearness of water and its supply is not only important for the growth of a city, but also was an important factor in the old days of long sieges.⁴ The low ground to the north-west of

1. *A Geographical Introduction to History*. London, 1925, pp. 341-42

2. This is true in the case of Agra Fort, which is built on a bend of river Jamunā.

3. This is not important for our purpose here.

4. One of the important causes for the surrender of the fortress of Kalinjar was "the short of water"—see Badā'oni, Lowe's tr. op. cit, p. 124. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. XII. p. 434 attaches the importance of the fortress of Gwālīor to its water supply: "A large number of tanks have been made in the fort, some of which are said never to fail in their

the city originally contained water, and it was later on converted by Akbar into a great lake, formed by a high embankment which acted as a dam for the overflow waters of the Utangan. The whole water supply of the city, so long Fathpūr-Sīkrī was the capital, was brought from this lake. The importance of the water of Fathpūr-Sīkrī can be ascertained from Abul Fazl's description of Bābur's encampment at Sīkrī, prior to the battle

supply—an important factor, which as Tavernier remarks, gave Gwālior the first place among the fortresses of India". Cunningham summarises the strength of the fortress of Gwālior thus ; "As a place of defence, Gwālior has always been considered one of the most impregnable fortress in upper India. In the beginning of the eleventh century the Raja prudently made his submission to Mahmūd of Ghaznī; but the opinion of Mahmūds' companions is not doubt truly expressed by Abu Rihan, when he describes Gwālior and Kalanjar as two of the strongest palaces in the country. Gwālior fully maintained this reputation when it stood a 12 months' siege against the Emperor Altamash in A. D. 1232. Still later, after it had fallen into the hands of the Hindus, it baffled all the efforts of the Emperors of Delhi during the whole of the 15th century and was only taken in A. D. 1578 after a siege of two years". —(*Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II., 1871 p. 340). The importance of the water of Gwālior has been recognized even in the 19th century when British army attacked the fort several times. Thus Cunningham reports: "Both Kalanjar and Ajaygarh have been obliged to surrender by the drying up of their tanks; but the tanks and wells of Gwālior have never yet failed, and its fortress, has only been gained either by assault or by capitulation. Several of the tanks are of considerable size, and some of them are no doubt as old as the fortress itself"—(*Archaeological Survey of India Reports* Vol. II, 1871. p. 341.)

Akbar being acquainted with many sorts of warfare, probably, borrowed some of the features of Gwālior fort which is one of the most famous in India.

of Khānwāh. He thus says: "On Monday, 9 Jumāda-al-Awwal (11th February, 1527), he (Bābur) marched out from Agra...and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the city. Reports were continually arriving that the ill-fated one (Rāna Sanga) had attacked Biāna with a large army, and that the troops who had come out of that town, had not been able to withstand him and had turned back.....having halted four days, he (Bābur) marched on the fifth and encamped in the plain of Mandhakar which lies between Agra and Sīkrī. It occurred to him that there was no water supply for the troops except in Sīkrī (which, after returning thanks for his victory, His Majesty Giti-Sitanī, by giving diacritical points, named Shukrī (thanksgiving) and which is now by the auspicious felicity of the kings, known as Fathpūr, from its giving victory to hearts) - and it might happen that the hostile army by using despatch, would get possession of this. In consequence of this just thought, he proceeded next days towards Fathpūr and sent Amīr Darvesh Sarban in advance in order for encampment. The said Amīr fixed on an eligible spot in the neighbourhood of Fathpūr Lake (Kirt) which is a broad sheet of water and an ocean-like reservoir, and that was made the pleasant ground of encampment."¹

Akbar's passion for building as a subsidiary reason for the making of Sīkrī can not also be set aside. We know that Akbar was a great lover of building art and always regarded building as a sign of the glory of the dominion, and a "splendour for the government". In relating the building of Fathpūr-Sīkrī, Abdul Fazl writes :² "Among the dominion increasing events was the making of Sīkrī, which was a dependency of Biāna, into a great city. As the khedive of the world is an architect of the spiritual and physical world, and is continually engaged in elevating the grades of mankind, and making strong the foundations of justice, and causes the longing ones of the age to be successful, so also does he strive for increasing the glory

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1. *Akbarnāmāh*, Beveridge's tr. Vol. I. op. cit., pp. 259-60; text, op. cit., vol. I, p. 130
 2. *Ibid*, tr. vol. II, op. cit., p. 530; text, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 455-456.

of the earth, and cherishes every place in accordance with its condition." In the *Āīn*¹ he adds, "Regulations for house building in general are necessary ; they are required for the comfort of the army, and are a source of splendour for the government. People that are attached to the world will collect in towns, without which there would be no progress. Hence His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay. Thus mighty fortresses have been raised, which protect the timid, frighten the rebellious, and please the obedient. Delightful villas, and imposing towers have also been built. They afford excellent protection against cold and rain, provide for the comforts of the princesses of the Harem, and are conducive to that dignity which is so necessary for the worldly power." Father Monserrate, in his *Commentary*² writes, "Zelal dinus is so devoted to building that he sometimes quarries stone himself, along with the other workmen." Following Monserrate Binyon opines,³ "Building possessed him (Akbar) like a passion. He eyed the blocks of red sandstone with an eye that penetrated through them to the shapes, already in his mind, of column, lintel, cornice. At times, nothing would content him but he must quarry the stone himself, along with the other workmen. So the buildings rose with fantastic speed. It was as if Akbar heard always at his back "Time's winged chariot hurrying near", as if some premonition warned him that all his magnificence was perishable, that the hour would come when the words inscribed on the great portal⁴ of the mosque would sound like the sentence of Fate, and all his labour of creation appear as the fabric of a dream".

1. Blochmann's tr. op. cit., p. 232; text, op. cit., p. 167.

2. J. S. Hoyland's tr. op. cit., p. 201.

3. *Akbar*, Edinburgh, 1932, p. 72-73.

4. The inscription referred to is a verse on the Buland Darwāza which reads "So said Jesus, upon whom be peace. The world is a bridge; pass over it, but build no house upon it",

A recent writer¹ in giving a *Historical Outline of Akbar's Dār-ul-Khilāfat, Fathpūr-Sīkrī*, attributes the transfer of the capital to the fear of old nobility—and orthodox maulavis at Agra. Beside other reasons, he writes, “there was another weightier reason. At Agra he was surrounded by the old nobility and orthodox maulavis stupid in the old narrow prejudices, who, he feared would not willingly co-operate in his far reaching reforms. So like Muḥammad Tughluq, he intended to inaugurate a new administrative and religious system based on entirely new lines by the removal of his Dār-ul-Khilāfat to more congenial surroundings where attended by his supporters and admirers he would launch his reforms”.

But the argument does not seem to be very convincing. By the middle of 1564, Akbar was completely free from the fear of the great nobility. Adham Khān² was killed on May 16th by the order of Akbar. Māham Anaga,³ his mother and the real ruler followed her son to the grave only forty days later. The other fugitive conspirators were pursued and arrested

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1. S. K. Banerji, The article was published in the *Journal of Indian History*, 21, 1942.
 2. Adham Khān was the son of Maham Anaga, one of Akbar's nurses (anaga). He appears to have been an illegitimate son of the Emperor Humāyūn. Adham Khān was a commander of 5,000, and distinguished himself in keeping the rebellious Bhadauriya clan, near Hatkānth, south-east of Agra, in order. In A. H. 968, he defeated Bāz Bahādur of Malwa. In the following year, A. D. 1562, he stabbed at court his enemy Atgah Khān, Akbar's foster-father, and was killed by the Emperor's order. (For the fuller account of the death of Adham Khān, See : V- Smith's *Akbar*. op. cit. P, 60).
 3. Maham Anaga, as has been said above, was one of Akbar's nurses, who attended on Akbar' “from the cradle till after his accession.” She played a considerable part in bringing about Bairām's fall, and was the real ruler after his dismissal. She was buried with her son in Delhi, in a mausoleum erected by Akbar.

soon after the death of Adham Khān. Akbar behaved to them with extraordinary generosity, prompted, perhaps, by deep policy, inflicting no penalties, and actually restoring Munim Khān,¹ Māham Anaga's ally to favour and his rank as minister and Khān Khānān. The punishment inflicted on Khwāja Muazzam,² about the end of March 1564, finally emancipated Akbar from the control of the palace clique, and the "monstrous regiment" of unscrupulous women.

Akbar, since then cared very little about the co-operation of the nobility; in the shaping of the future policy, he mapped out his course, right or wrong, for himself. "It was"—he observed "the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him."³ "That saying" as V. Smith writes, "was not merely the outcome of self-conceited vanity".⁴ When Akbar reinstated the traitor Munim Khān, there was, it is very likely, some contemptuousness in the action, which signified that it did not much matter who conducted the routine business while Akbar

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1. Munim Khān, a nobleman who was raised to the dignity of Prime Minister by the Emperor Akbar, after the dismissal of Bairām Khān in A. D. 1560/A. H. 967, was appointed governor of Jaunpūr after the death of Khān Zamān, where he built the famous bridge on the river Gumti in the year A. D. 1567/A. H. 975. He was later appointed Governor of Bengal after the defeat of Daūd Shāh, King of that country, in A. D. 1575/A. H. 983; and died there in the same year.
 2. Khwāja Muazzam, a man of very mischievous character, was the brother of Hamīda Bānō Begam, Akbar's mother. He was banished from the Kingdom several times for improper behaviour but he soon returned! and when in March A. D. 1564/A. H. 973 he killed his wife, he was arrested, and at first ducked in the river along with his servants. He did not drown as he was expected to do, and was sent to the state prison at Gwālior, where he died insane."
 3. *Āin*. Jarret's tr. vol. III (revised ed. by J. N. Sarker) p. 434 ; text, Calcutta 1877, p. 234.
 4. *Akbar*, op cit., p. 63.

himself was there to shape the policy. Smith quotes Peruschi, one of the acute Jesuit authors, who states that, "He is willing to consult about his affairs, and often takes advice in private from his friends near his person, but the decision, as it ought, always rests with the king".¹ "Akbar was conscious of being a king of men, immeasurably superior in breadth and comprehensiveness of view to any of the people surrounding him, and was justified in keeping his Prime Minister, whether Munim Khān or another, in a position of definite subordination."²

The reference to the fear of the orthodox maulvis is still a weaker point. Even V. Smith admits that until 1564 Akbar was "an orthodox and zealous Muslim".³ The question of religious opposition, then, therefore, does not arise at all. We do not hear of any serious opposition from the Muslim orthodox community even when Akbar abolished the tax on Hindu pilgrims⁴ in 1563, and the *Jizya*⁵ in 1564. The 'fantastic regulations which went against the practices of orthodox Islam were issued not at Agra, but at Fathpūr-Sīkrī.

One thing, however, may emerge from the first point, i.e. Akbar's bad relation with the nobility at Agra. His bitter experiences with them perhaps filled his heart with a contempt towards them, and with a consequent dislike for the place where so many undesirable public events took place. It is not unlikely that the murder of Shamsuddīn Atgah Khān by Adham Khān, and the consequent killing of the latter, both at the palace at Agra, filled Akbar, so superstitious a person, with ominous signs for himself and the future of the capital.⁶ "During the years in which he was apparently devoted to sport alone, and oblivious of all serious affairs, the young man had been thinking

1. *Akbar* op. cit. p. 63

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.* p. 67.

4. The tax, according to Abul Fazl, amounted to "millions of ruspees" (*Ibid* p. 65).

5. No statistics are available concerning the yield of the *Jizya* collections. Abul Fazl states that it was immense (*Ibid* p. 6.) Akbar experienced a remarkable spiritual awakening on the

and shaping out a course of policy".¹ Who knows that he was then even thinking in terms of shifting the capital ?

The surrgested reason, therefore, may be attributed to the contempt towards the nobility of Agra, now subdued, and the consequent dislike of the place which was the centre of their clique and misdoings, rather than to the fear of the non-cooperation of the nobility in the policy of Akbar's far reaching reforms. Agra was not the "favourite residence" of Akbar; it was Fathpūr-Sīkrī which was so.

completion of his twentieth year, in October or November 1562. His words, as translated by Jarrett, are: "On the completion of my twentieth year, I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow". (Āīn, Jarrett's tr. vol. II. op. cit. p. 433.; text op. cit., p. 233. "It is impossible"—V. Smith says—"not to connect this access of religious melancholy with the public event which preceded it".—(*Akbar*, op. cit., p. 62.)

1. Ibid., p. 63.

THE RISE OF HINDU ARISTOCRACY UNDER THE BENGAL NAWABS

Dr. A. Rahim,

Within a few years after the death of Emperor Ālamgīr, Bengal drifted away from the imperial authority of the the Mughals* and Murshid Qulī Khān, the *Diwan-Nazim* of Bengal, laid the foundation of an independent *Nizamat* in the province, owing only a nominal allegiance to the Mughal emperor and sending him an annual tribute of about a crore of rupees. This political change was associated with two significant social developments in Bengal, the assimilation of ruling Muslims and the rise of a new social and political force of the Hindus in the country.

The absorption of the Nawābs and the ruling Muslims in the soil of Bengal is a noteworthy feature of the period of the *Nizamat*. Nawāb Murshid Qulī Khān and his successors adopted Bengal as their home, settled there permanently and became a part and parcel of the Bengali society. The relations, associates and followers of the Nawābs and the Iranian and Turanian adventurers, fortune-seekers, traders, scholars, poets, teachers, physicians and theologians, who came to Bengal in their wake, were also domiciled in the land, so that Murshidabād, Hughly, Dacca, Azīmabād, Purnea, Munghyr and other places developed into significant centres of political, cultural and economic life of the country. Before the time of Nawāb Murshid Qulī Khān, the Mughal *subahdars*, *diwans*, *bakhshis* and other officers and their followers and soldiers came for a short time and at the expiry of their term, all of them, with the exception of a few, returned to Delhi, Agra and other places of Northern India.

By the establishment of an independent *Nizamat*, Nawāb Murshid Quālī Khān and his successors became the sons of the soil and indentified themselves with the interests of Bengal. They felt and thought for Bengal as much as any other patriotic Bengali and they were vitally concerned with the welfare and

prosperity of the people of this land, because their interests were inseparably bound together with the common cause of the independent *Nizamat*. They conducted themselves as Bengali rulers in every respect and encouraged and participated in the social institutions and festivals of the local people. The Nawābs, princes and their nobles celebrated the *holi* festival of the Hindus in a magnificent manner.¹ This speaks of the identification of the Murshidabād Nawābs and their entourage with Bengali population.

Because of the identity of interests with the people of the soil, the Murshidabād Nawābs followed a nationalistic policy in administration, just as the independent sultans of Bengal, who preceded the Mughal rule in this province, had done for several centuries. The Nawābs patronised the Bengali intellect and genius and offered them opportunities to occupy position of honour and dignity in the state and society. The political expediency necessitated the adoption of a broad-based policy. Before the establishment of the independent *Nizamat*, the officials of the civil, military and revenue departments of the Bengal subah were supplied from Delhi and Agra. This flow of talent from

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1. Karam Ali, author of *Muzaffarnamah* (Sarker - Bengal Nawabs, p. 49), writes that Shahamat Jang and Salābat Jang, nephews of Alivardī Khān, once magnificently celebrated the *holi* for seven days in the garden of Moti Jhil and the author himself was present there. He says, "During the days of the *holi* merrymaking all the cisterns of the garden - which were more than 200 in number - were filled with coloured water and on all sides heads of amber and saffron raised their heads to the sky. Moreover, 500 fairy-like women in splendid robes and jewels, every morning and evening appeared from every corner of the garden in groups." Nawab Siraj al-Daulah also, after the treaty of Alingar, enjoyed the *holi* festival in the palace of Mansurganj. (Bengal Nawabs, p. 72). Ghulām Husain Tabatabāī (Siyar-Briggs. p. 266) writes that Nawāb Mīr Jafar Ali Khān participated in *holi* with all his men in Azimabād (Patna).

Northern India had finally stopped when after the death of Bahādur Shāh the imperial authority disintegrated on account of the weakness of his successors and several independent dynasties sprang up on the heart of the Mughal empire. In consequence of this, Murshid Qulī Khān and his successors had to fill up the various offices of the government with men drawn from the Bengali society. They were also actuated by the motive of enlisting the support and cooperation of sections of the people of Bengal in the maintenance of the independent *Nizamat*.

It is noteworthy in this connection that this nationalistic policy benefited the Hindus most. The Bengali Hindus had by this time mastered the Persian language and Muslim court etiquette. The founder of the independent *Nizamat* in Bengal, Murshid Qulī Khān, also specially favoured them and raised them to a social status equal to the ruling Muslims of the province. This policy was continued by his successors, Shujā 'al-Dīn, Sarfarāz Khān, Ālīvardī Khān, Sirāj al-Daulah and even the puppet Nawāb Mīrjafar Alī Khān and Mīr Qāsim. The Murshidabād Nawābs extended generous patronage to the Hindus in every field and this policy produced a great social and political force of this community in Bengal. They flourished in the enjoyment of land, wealth and position in the state and surpassed even the Muslims in economic and political influence.

It was the Murshidabād Nawābs who created a new and opulent class of landed aristocracy of the Hindus in Bengal. Murshid Qulī khān introduced in the province a new system of revenue administration known as the *Mal Zamini*. In accordance with the previous practice, the state collected the revenues in lump from the old land-proprietors of Bengal, called Zamindārs Bhuyans and Rājas. A large number of the Zamindārs and Bhuyans were Muslims. As they were irregular in payment and, in many cases, were unable to clear the state dues, Murshid Quli Khān discarded the existing practice and devised the *Mal Zamini* system, under which he entrusted the collection of revenue to some contractors, known as *ijaradars* or revenue-farmers. By way of remuneration, the *ijaradars* would receive a percentage of the revenues they collected from the ryots. This new arrangement of land revenue spelt the ruin of the old zamindārs. Most of them were ousted from their estates and contracts were made with

persons belonging mostly to the well-to-do class of the Hindu community. A few of the older zamindārs, who survived the *Mal Zamini* system, were soon eliminated by the competition of the new wealthy class of *ijaradars*. In the course of a few generations, the *ijaradars* made themselves hereditary zamindārs and many of them were dignified with the titles of *Rajās* and *Maharajars*.

Among the many Hindu zamindārs created by Murshid Qulī Khān, mention may be made of a few of them. The well-known zamindari of Natore in the district of Rajshahi was founded in his time. A Varendra Brahmin named Raghunandan was a favourite and trusted counsellor of Murshid Qulī Khān in revenue matters. This enviable position enabled Raghunandan to acquire many landed estates in the name of his brother Ramjivan. It is known that he was benefited by the fall, at that time, of more than half a dozen of zamindaries in Bengal. The termination of the Devinagar zamindari in Rajshahi supplied the nucleus of the Natore Estate. In the course of a few years, the zamindaries of Bangachi, Bhaturia, Sultanpur, Sarup Pur and others were absorbed in the rising Natore zamindari. Raghunandan also added to his own a greater portion of the large estate of Bhusna after the fall of its zamindār, Raja Sitaram. Thus was founded the Natore Rāj one of the premier zamindaries of the eighteenth century Bengal. The Dighapatiya zamindari of the Rajshahi district also originated in the time of Murshid Qulī Khān. Its founder Dayaram Ray, a man of the Tili caste and a servant of Raghunandan, obtained a slice of the Bhusna zamindari of Sitaram and enriched himself in the sack of his capital. It was Murshid Qulī Khān's policy of patronising the Hindus that led to the creation of two great zamindaries of the Mymensingh district, that of the Choudhuries of Momenshahi and of the Muktagacha family. The former had its origin with a varendra Brahmin named Srikrishna Halder (Havladar), who was a qānūngō in the service of Murshid Qulī Khān. In appreciation of his services, the Nawāb rewarded Srikrishna with the title of *Talapatra* and made him the Choudhuri of the Momenshahi pargana (1718)¹. Srikr-

1. *Momenshahi* also called Mumen singh by Abul Fazal, was a pargana in the Sarkar of Bazuha. It has been identified

ishna's son Chand Ray served as the chief of the Khalsa department in the reign of Nawāb Alīvardī and secured for his father the Zafarshāhī pargana (West of the Brahmaputra). The founder of the Muktagacha family (now known as the Maharajas of Mymensingh) was Srikrishna Acharya Choudhury, a Varendra Brahmin, who served Murshid Qulī Khān's government as a revenue collector and obtained the Alapshāhī¹ pargana from his patron.

The zamindaries of Burdwan and Krishnanagar (Navadvip), which began in the early seventeenth century in the reign of Jahāngīr flourished under the new land revenue dispensation of Murshid Qulī Khān with the addition of many parganas. The ancestors of Raja Ramnath, the zamindār of Dinajpur, and many other petty Hindu zamindārs derived enormous benefits from the Māl Zamini system and thus came to occupy an influential position in the county.

The Murshidabād Nawābs extended liberal patronage to the Hindus in trade and commerce. Considering the increase of the wealth of the Hindus as their own, the Nawābs greatly favoured and encouraged them in their trade. As a result of this fostering care, many Hindu traders flourished in trade and position. The Seths of Murshidabād and Omichand need special mention in this connection, since they wielded great social and political influence in the history of the mid-eighteenth century Bengal. A trader, banker and financier, Jagat Seth Fatehchand was the wealthiest man of his time.

with Mymensingh p. S. and the adjoining territories which were included in the zamindari of Maharajas of Mensingh—Āīn-i- Akbarī, II (Jarret & Sarkar). p. 151 and History of Bengal (D. U.), II, p. 415.

1. Alap shahi, also mentioned as Alap Singh (Baharistan vol. I p. 9, p. 32 and p. 39.) was a pargana in the Sarker of Bazuha now in the district of Mymensingh. It was in the possession of the Acharya Choudhury family of Muktagacha until the abolition of the zemindari system in East Pakistan. The present police Station of Muktagacha, Fulbaria and Trisal were included in the Alap shahi Pargana. See Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, tr-by M-I. Broah, Vol-II p. 796.

Orme says, "There was a family of Gentoo merchants at Muxudabad (Murshidabad), whose head Juggutseat (Jagat Seth) had raised himself from no considerable origin to be the wealthiest banker in the empire, in most part of which he had agents supplied with money for remittances, from whom he constantly received of what was transacting in the governments in which they were settled : and in Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer in the administration : for by answering to the treasury as security for most of the renters forming the lands of the province, the circulation of the wealth, which he commanded, rendered his assistance necessary in every emergency of expense".¹ Indeed Jagat Seth enjoyed a position of great honour and influence in the Murshidabād court so much so that he always had a place in the inner cabinet of Shujā al-Dīn, Sarfarāj Khān and Alīvardī Khān. The Nawābs honoured his security for zamindārs in respect of their payment of revenues to the state. The zamindārs used to pay their revenues to the Murshidabād treasury through the banking agency of Jagat Seth. The Nawābs also sent their tributes to the Emperor through the agency of this great banker.² His original name was Fateh Chand ; Emperor Bahādur Shāh gave him the title of Jagat Seth.

Omi Chand, a Sikh came from Bihar to Bengal with Alīvardī Khān at the time of his contest for the masnad of Murshidabād. It was under the patronage of this Nawāb that Omi Chand flourished in trade. He had prosperous trade in Calcutta, Murshidabād, Cassimbazar and other places of Bengal and Bihar. Like Jagat Seth he had also considerable influence with the principal officers of government and the Presidency in times of difficulty used to employ his mediation with the Nawāb. He was possessed of four millions of ruppees.³

1. Orme, II, p. 29.

2. Siyar (Briggs tr), I, p. 255. Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai (Siyar, I, p. 279) says that Jagat Seth's wealth was reckoned in crores and he had no equal.

3. Orme, II, p. 50. and K. P. Sarma - Bangalar Itihasa, p. 195,

Nawāb Murshid Qulī Khān advanced the Hindus to every position of trust and responsibility in the state. This policy was continued by his successors in the masnad of Murshidabād. As a result, the Hindus occupied most of the key-positions in the government of Bengal. They held the most important office of the Dīwān or the finance minister and chief minister. The revenue department was almost a monopoly to them. Indeed, Nawāb Murshid Qulī Khān appointed only the Hindus in the revenue administration. The author of *Tārikh-i-Bangālā* writes, "He appointed none but the Bengali Hindus in the collection of revenues, because they were most easily compelled, by threats or punishments, to disclose their malpractices and their confederates ; and their pusillanimity secured him from any insurrection or combination against the state".¹

The Hindus were appointed governors of provinces under the Bengal Nizāmat. Many of them held the rank of *bakhshis* and commanders. The intelligence department from top to the bottom was manned by them. They were also in the inner council of the Nawābs. Indeed, a study of the position of Hindus in the Murshidabād Government will reveal that they had enjoyed a better status during the period of the *Nizamat* than they did even in their most prosperous days under the British rule in India. Even in their best days in the British administration, no Hindu was appointed a finance minister, governor, commander or chief of the intelligence department. No Hindu was ever taken in the inner council of the British Indian government. Whereas, under the Nawābs, the Hindus occupied even a better status than the Muslims in political, social and economic fields. Indeed the fall of the *Nizamat* of Murshidabād was not a gain to them.

Of the many Hindus who held high positions in the government of Murshid Qulī the names of a few may be mentioned. Bhupat Ray, a Brahmin, was his *peshkar-i-khas* or the first secretary of the treasury (*Diwan-i-Khalsa*) and his confidential counsellor. Kishen Ray, another, Brahmin, was also in his confidence as

1. Stewart - History of Bengal, p ; 377.

his private secretary.¹ After the death of Bhupat Ray, Derp Narayan, a Zamindār of Puthia and one of the chief qānūngōes, was appointed *peshkari-i-khas*. On the fall of Derp Narayan Raghunandan, another chief qānūngō, was elevated to the headship of the revenue department (*Diwan of the Khalsa*)² A Varendra Brahmin, Raghunandan was a favourite and most trusted counsellor of Murshid Qulī in revenue matters. Srikrishna, another Brahmin, occupied a position of responsibility and trust in the revenue administration. Jaswant Ray was appointed a *munshi* and guardian-tutor to Murshid Qulī Khān's grandson Sarfarāz Khān. Kinkar Sen was a *peshkar* or head clerk. Alem Chand was the *diwan* of Orissa under Shujā al-Dīn, the deputy governor of that province in the Nizāmat of Murshid Qulī Khān. Lahari Mall and Dilpat Singh Hazari were the generals in the army.³ Every Hindu high official was also a mansabdār, in accordance with the practice of the time.

The Hindu influence rose higher in the time of Nawāb Shujā al-Dīn (1727-1737). The new Nawāb appointed Alem Chand as the *Diwan* of the Khalsa and dignified him with the title of Rāy Rayān or the Chancellor of the Exchequer. According to Ghulām Husain Tabatabāī, Alem Chand was a Hindu of great merit and Nawāb Shujā' al-Dīn reposed great confidence and trust in him.⁴ The Nawāb also took into his inner council

1. Stewart, p. 372

2. Stewart, p. 372 and K. p. Sharma - Banglar Itihasha, 96 -97 and 115 : Khalsa means crown lands. The Muslim rulers of India generally divided their territories into two categories of lands : Khalsa and Jagir lands. The jagir lands were set apart for grants to pious and educated persons, religious and educational institutions as well as for assignments to officers in payment of their salaries. The Khalsa lands were reserved for the King and the administrator. The revenues came directly to the central exchequer and from these were met the expenses of the royal household, the court and the government.

3. Riyāz, p 361 and Stewart, p 375,

4. Siyar (Briggs tr.), vol. I. p. 270,

Jagat Seth Fateh Chand, the great banker of the time. Yūsuf Alī, the author of *Ahwāl-i-Mahābat Jang*, observes that Alem Chand, Jagat Seth and Hāji Ahmad, the elder brother of Alīvardī Khān, were the three chief pillars of the state of Nawāb Shujā' al-Dīn.¹ Jaswant Ray was appointed Dīwān of Jahāngīrnagar. Raja Rajballav, a Vaidya by caste and a clerk in the Admiralty department, was promoted to the post of peshkar (secretary) in the service of Murād Alī, deputy governor of Jahāngīr. Raja Janakiram was the Dīwān of Alīvardī Khān, deputy governor of Bihar in the Nizāmat of Shujā al-Dīn.² Chintamandas was the dīwān of Bihar entrusted with the management of the imperial revenue.³ Nandoolal was a commander of Alīvardī Khān from the time of his deputy governorship of Bihar.⁴ There were, besides, many other Hindus in the various departments of Nawāb Shujā al-Dīn.

In the time Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān (1739-40), Rāy Rāyan Alemchand, Jagat Seth, Jaswant Rāy, Rajballav and other Hindu ministers and officers continued to enjoy position of great responsibility and trust in the Nizāmat of Murshidabād. These influential Hindus, particularly Jagat Seth and Alemchand, played a vital role in bringing about the fall of Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān and the occupation of the *masnad* of Murshidabād by Alīvardī Khān.⁵ Indeed, those Hindus changed their attitude to the son of their benefactor with a view to exploit Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān's distracted affairs to their own advantage.

The Hindu official position and political influence rose to the zenith of prosperity in the reign of Nawāb Alīvardī Khān. At that time their influence pervaded all the departments of the

1. *Ahwāl-i-Mahābat Jang* (Sarkar - Bengal Nawabs), p. 84.

2. *Siyar* (Briggs), vol. 1, p. 346r

3. Karam Ali - *Muzaffarnāma* (Sarkar- Bengal Nawāb), p. 14.

4. *Siyar* (Briggs), I, p. 336

5. *Siyar* (Briggs), I, p. 329. Jagat Seth wrote secretly to Alivardi Khan in Azimabād asking him to march to Murshidabād on an appointed day. He also gave promisory notes to generals and soldiers inducing them to join Alīvardī Khān.

state, revenue, civil, and military. Nawāb Alīvardī Khān appointed, on the death of the old Dīwān Alemchānd, his deputy chin Rāy to that office and dignified him with the title of Rāy Rāyān.¹ Ghulam Husain Tabatabai writes that Rāy Rayān Chin Ray was a very competent Dīwān. Chin Ray did not live long to enjoy this high office. After his death, Nawāb Alīvardī appointed Biru Datt, a deputy of Chin Ray, to officiate as the Dīwān. He was, however, soon made Dīwān with the full power and title.² On the death of Biru Datt, his deputy Umīd Ray officiated for some time until Rāja Kirat Chānd, son of Rāy Rāyān Alemchānd, was appointed Dīwān. Rāja Kirat Chānd was Dīwān under Zain al-Dīn Aḥmad Khān and Atā allah Khān, the deputy governors of Bihar. He was well-up in Persian and an expert financier. He managed finance efficiently and discovered and realised arrears of state dues from Jagat Seth and Rāja of Burdwan to the amount of one crore and several lacs. Rāy Rāyān Kirat Chānd died after two years. Before his death he recommended his deputy Umīd Rāy for the office. Accordingly Nawāb Alīvardī invested Umīd Rāy with the office of Dīwān and the title of Rāy Rayān.³

Nawāb Alīvardī Khān appointed Rāja Janakiram as his Dīwān of the house-hold and of the army. Janakiram was his Dīwān at the time of his governorship of Bihar.⁴ When Zain al-Dīn, the deputy governor of Bihar, was killed by the rebel Afghan generals, Janakiram was appointed as the deputy of Sirāj al-Daulah, to whom the Nawāb assigned the government of his deceased father.⁵ Rāja Janakiram died in 1752. Before his death he recommended the appointment of his Dīwān Ramnarain to the post of deputy governor. Ramnarain was the son

1. Siyar (Briggs), I, 346 and Yusuf Ali - *Aḥwal-i-Makabat Jang* (Sarkar-Bengal Nawabs), p. 9.

2. Siyar (Briggs), II, pp. 76 and 85.

3. Siyar, II, p. 114-15; Yusuf Ali (Sarkar - Bengal Nawabs), p. 152.

4. Siyar (Briggs), I, p. 346.

5. Siyar (Briggs), II, p. 105.

of Ranglal, a Kayastha of Sahsaram, who held a small position in the government of Bihar during the period of the deputy governorship of Alīvardī Khān. He entered the service of Zain al-Dīn as a *Khasnavis* (personal secretary) and by merit soon rose to the office of *pēshkar* (deputy) to the Dīwān and then Dīwān under the deputy governor Rāja Janakiram. Nawāb Alīvardī appointed him deputy governor in succession to Rāja Janakiram.¹

Rāja Durlabh Rām, a son of Rāja Janakirām, was a commander of Nawāb Alīvardī and held the post of the deputy governor of Orissa for some time. He was afterwards appointed *Diwan-i-tan* and deputy of Ramnarain at the court of the Nawāb. He also held an important command in the army.² The Hindus were appointed to positions of great trust and confidence as the deputy of the Nawābs at the Imperial court. Jugul Kishor held the office of *vakil* at the court of the Mughal emperors on behalf of Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān and Alīvardī Khān.³ Gokul Chānd, who began his career as a servant of Husain Qulī Khān, a deputy of Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān, deputy governor of Jahāngīrnagar, was promoted to the office of Dīwān of that province.⁴ Another Hindu Rājballav, a Vaidya of Vikrampur, occupied an important post in the reign of Alīvardī Khān. Beginning career as a petty officer in the revenue service, Rajballav rose to the high office of the superintendent of the fleet establishment and was later elevated to the position of Dīwān of Jahāngīrnagar in place of Gokul Chand in the time of the deputy governorship of Husain Qulī Khān.⁵ After the death of Husain Qulī and Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān, Rajballav as deputy governor and Dīwān as well as agent of Ghasiti Begam,⁶

1. Siyar (Briggs) II, p. 117. and Karam Ali - *Muzaffarnama* (Sarkar- Bengal Nawabs), p. 28 and Yusuf Ali, p. 152.

2, Siyar (Briggs), II, p. 92 ; Karam Ali, p. 28 and Yusuf Ali, p. 152.

3. Yusuf Ali, p. 85.

4. Siyar (Briggs), I, q. 422.

5. Siyar, I, p. 423 and Karam Ali, p. 56.

6. Ghasiti Begum, elder daughter of Nawāb Alīvardī Khān, was married to his nephew Nawazish Muhammad Khan. She

became supreme in the government of the province of Jahāngīr-nagar. Rāja Sakat Singh was a deputy of the diwans Janakiram and Durlabh Ram.¹ Sham Sundar was a bakhshi of the artillery² and Surjan Singh was a deputy of Saulat Singh at Hughli.³

Jagat Seth continued to enjoy the great confidence of Nawāb Alīvardī Khān and to exercise great influence in the Nawāb's councils. Ramram Singh, the Rāja of Midnapur, held the post of the chief of the intelligence service. There were many other Hindus who prospered in the civil, military and revenue Administration of Nawāb Alīvardī Khān. Indeed, as Orme remarks, "Nawāb Alīvardī preferred the services of the Hindus in every office and dignity of state, and seemed to regard the increase of their wealth as his own." This English writer further observes, "The Rajas both of Bengal and Bihar sought the protection and exemptions from their fellow Gentoos (Hindus) and contributed not a little to increase their fortunes. Thus was the Hindu connection become the most opulent influence in the government, of which it pervaded every department with such efficiency that nothing of moment could move without their participation and knowledge."⁴

Nawāb Sirāj al-Daulah retained the services of all the Hindu officers of his grandfather's time in the civil, military and revenue administration and intelligence department of the state. He even placed greater trust and confidence in them. He promoted the Dīwān of his household Mohanlāl, a Kashmīrī Hindu, to the office of prime minister with full power over every department of the administration. Mohanlāl was dignified with the title of Mahārāja and was vested with the supreme direction of the affairs of the state including the power of appointment and dismissal.

was wealthy and influential and was opposed to Siraj-ul-Daulah from the time of his accession. She did much to undermine the position of her sister's son on the *masnad* of Murshidabād.

1. Siyar, II, p. 392.
2. Karam Ali, p. 67.
3. Karam Ali, p. 32.
4. Orme, History of the Military Transaction, II, p. 29.

He was given the mansab of 5000 horse.¹ Yūsuf Alī says that Nawāb Sirāj al-Daulah appointed Janaki Rai, an uncle of Mohanlāl, as the Dīwān of the Khalsa and conferred on him the title of Rāy Rāyān.²

Rāja Durlabh Ram, Ramnarain, Rājballav and other Hindus continued to hold the key positions in the civil and military government. Rash Bihari, a younger brother of Rāja Durlabh Ram, was a general and faujdār in the Nawāb's administration.³ Manickchand and Nandkumar were also his generals and faujdars.

The above discussion shows the influential position occupied by the Hindus under the Bengal Nawābs. In admitting this Sir Jadunath Sarkar remarks, "Under the Nawābs more than one Bengali Hindu held the rank of Rāy Rayān (Sanskrit equivalent of Khān Khanān) with the function of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. So many Bangalis, of all the above three castes, claim descent from Rāy Rayāns that these ancestors must have been chancellors only to district magistrates, like the local Nawābs of Dacca and Purnea."⁴

All the Murshidabād Nawābs thus advanced the Hindus in land, trade and administration and elevated them to a position of high responsibility and dignity in the state and society. In spite of all these favours and trust, the Hindus in general, while professing outward attachment to the Nawābs, remained at bottom hostile to the Muslim rule in this country. Indeed their prosperity and political influence under the *Nizamat* government stimulated them to secretly work for the overthrow of the Muslim rule in Bengal. Even the Europeans, who lived in this country at that time, perceived the under-current of Hindu animosity to the Muslim rulers. Col. Scott wrote to his friend in 1754, "Jentue (Hindu) Rajas and zamindars were much disaffected to the Moor government and secretly wished for a change and opportunity for throwing off their tyrannical yoke."⁵ This feeling

1. Siyar, II, p. 189. ; Karām Ali., B, PP. 1949 p.14 ; Yusuf Ali' BPP, 1958 p. 10.

2. Yusuf Ali, BPP, 1958, p. 12.

3. Siyar, II, p. 204.

4. History of Bengal II, (D. U.), p. 410.

5. Hill's Bengal, II, p. 028.

of Hindu hatred to the Muslims is revealed in the writings of a contemporary Hindu poet, Rāmānandadas, who in his *Rāmāyana Kavya* says, "The country has become the property of the *Mlechhas* (Muslims) and the goddess of fortune has been born as a slave-girl in a low family. I shall forcibly snatch away the kingdom from these foreigners and give the sovereignty to the Brahma."¹ Hill also remarks that, quite, in keeping with the traditions of Indian history, the Hindu aristocrats and zamindars joined the English in overthrowing the *Nawabi* and establishing the British power in Bengal.²

Pampered with the bounties of the Bengal Nawābs, the Hindu minister's officials and commanders as well as the Hindu zamindars and traders entered into secret conspiracy to overthrow Nawāb Sirāj al-Daulah. Mahārāja Mohanlāl and Rāmnarain were the only Hindus who remained attached to the Nawāb. Jagat Seth, the banker, Omichānd, the trader, Rāja Durlabh Rām, the commander, Rāja Rājballav, the Dīwān, and other officials and prominent zamindars applied their influence, wealth and resources to terminate the *Nawabi* and promote the cause of the English.³ It was these personages who built up the great conspiracy which led to the fall of the independent *Nizamat* of Bengal at the battle of Plassey in 1757. The Supporters and partisans of the English were all Hindus; the only Muslim was the Nawab's commander Mīr Ja'far Alī khān, whom the Hindu leaders tempted to join their plot so that they might strengthen their cause with his great military resources.

The Hindus were plotting against the young Nawāb from the very time of his accession to the *masnad* of Murshidabād. It is also to be noted that after the capture of Calcutta Nawāb Sirāj al-Daulah appointed Manick Chānd as the commandant of

1. Sukumar Sen - Bengla Sahityer Itibasha, pp. 680-81.

শ্বেচ্ছভোগ্য বস্ত্রধরা হইল সংসারে
দাসীরূপে হৈলা লক্ষ্মী নীচ জাতি ঘরে ।
যবন শ্বেচ্ছের রাজ্য বলে কাড়ি লব
একচ্ছত্রে রাজ্য করি দারু বন্ধে দিব ।

2. Hili, II, p. 328.

3. Siyar (Briggs), II, p. 226.

that place. Manick Chānd did not keep any watch on the movement of the English and when Robert Clive and Admiral Watson approached towards Calcutta this Hindu commandant, instead of opposing them, quietly fled away, although he commanded a considerable force capable of standing his ground. Nothing but collusion with the English can explain this behaviour of Manick Chānd. Again, the local zamindars and Hindu merchants in every way helped the English refugees at Fulta, in violation of the order of Nawāb Sirāj al-Daulah that none should help them. This shows the complicity of these Hindus with the enemies of the Nawāb. Nandkumar, the commandant of Hughli, who was at the head of an army in the vicinity of Chandannagar to help the French in case of English attack, could easily resist the English occupation of the French settlement. But he as well as another Hindu general Bal Kishan Hazari left their stations when the English attacked Chandannagar.¹ Orme as well as Scrafton writes that Clive gave Nandkumar a bribe of Rs. 12,000 through Omichānd and thus made this Hindu commandant to retreat with his force. Clive and the Council thanked Omichānd for this service and remarked that if Nandkumar did not retreat it would have been impossible for the English to capture Chandannagar.²

According to Ghulām Husain Tabatabāī, Jagat Seth, Rāja Durlabh Rām, Rāj Ballav and other courtiers and officials conspired to overthrow Nawāb Sirāj al-Daulah from the time of his accession. The author writes, "Jagat Seth was one of the foremost of them (conspirators), and he had also the best of the opportunities. By the means of his merchantile agent, Omichānd, one of the principal bankers of Culcutta, he was perpetually exciting the English to a rupture. Rāja Durlabh Ram had likewise his agent there on the same errand; and Mīr Ja'far Alī Khān sent thither his friend and confident."³ Thus the Hindu conspiracy with the English was mainly responsible for the fall of the independent *Nizamat* of Bengal.

1. Advanced History of India (Majumdar), p. 661; Karam Ali—*Muzaffarnama* in J. N. Sarkar's translation entitled 'Bengal Nawabs', p. 73
2. Quoted in K. P. Sastri's *Banglar Itihasa*, pp. 252-53.
3. Siyar (tr. Briggs), II, p. 228 and 193,

TWO FARĀ'IDĪ DOCUMENTS

Dr. Muin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan

The two *Farā'idī* documents' reproduced below, were recovered by the present writer in 1958 and 1959 in course of an intensive investigation into the growth and development of the *Farā'idī* movement in Bengal. The first was recovered from the India Office Library¹ (London), the existence of which was known to some scholars but which was never critically examined or published and the second was recovered from the present head of the *Farā'idīs*.² The former is a *Ro-bakāri* or a brief official report, submitted by the Magistrate of Dacca-Jalalpur³ to the East India Company in A.D.1831, with regard to a criminal suit in which Hājī Shari'at Allāh, the founder of the *Farā'idī* movement, was implicated. The latter is a *Mukhtār-nāmah*, Power of Attorney, delegated by Muhsin al Dīn Ahmad *alias* Dudu Miyān⁴ to Munshī

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1. The photostat copy has been preserved by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca.
 2. Namely, Muhsin al-Dīn Ahmad *alias* Dudu Miyān, son of the late Bādshāh Miyān and the great grandson of the first Dudu Miyān.
 3. The old district of Dacca-Jalalpur consisted of the present districts of Dacca and Faridpur. For details, see *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. vii, part i, p. 24.
 4. Dudu Miān was the only son and successor of Hājī Shari'at Allāh. He was born in A. D. 1819 and died in 1861. He played such an important role in the development of the Faraidi movement, especially by defending the the Farā'idī peasantry against the oppressive Hindu Zamindars and European indigo planters, that he has been regarded by some scholars as the co-founder of the Farā'idī movement (cf H. Beveridge; *District of Bakarganj* pp. 254 and 381). In fact, the Farā'idī movement reached zenith during his time (cf. James wise : *Notes on Races, Castes and trades of Eastern Bengal*, 1884 p. 24f.

Faiḍ al-Dīn, a practising lawyer of Faridpur, which was duly registered in A.D.1849. The *Ro-bakārī* is written in English and the *Mukhtārnāmāh* in Bengali characters and both are preserved in handwritten manuscript.

(1) *Ro-bakārī of the Magistrate of Dacca-Jalalpur*

The *Ro-bakārī* consists of a brief report on the criminal proceedings against two Muslim groups of Dacca district, who were charged by the government with disturbing the peace of the land by fighting an affray involving plunder and looting. The affray was fought in April, 1831, between the followers of Hājī Shari'at Allāh and the followers of traditional local custom, and was provoked by religious differences.

Describing the ground of the affray, the *Ro-bakārī* states that one of the *Farā'idīs* "wished to bring his brother over to that sect, and on his not consenting, a large body of persons (*i. e.*, *Farā'idīs*) attacked and plundered the village in which he lived with the view of bringing about conversion by force. They repeated the attack after the next day". The same ground was also repeated by Biharilal Sarkar in his biography of Titu Mir,¹ published in B. S. 1304 (*i. e.* around A. D. 1914). He says:²

"In A. D. 1831, the Eastern Bengal had become excited, and in the month of April of the same year, Shari'at Allāh of Faridpur ... had attacked and looted a village. The entire village was looted because one person of that village did not accept his creed".

On the other hand James wise, in his *Notes on Eastern Bengal*, observes that the Hindu Zamindars were "alarmed at the spread of the new creed" of Hājī Shari'at Allāh, "which bound the Muhammadan peasantry together as one man. Disputes and quarrels soon arose, and Hājī Shari'at Allāh was deported from Nayabari, in the Dacca District, where he had settled". In the face of these conflicting views it appears that although the basic reason for the collision between the *Farā'idīs* and the followers of traditional customs had lain in religious

1. Entitled *Titu Mir* in Bengali.

2. *ibid.*, p. 13.

differences, yet the Hindu Zamindars had a hand in making it flare up into an affray.¹ On the whole, this incident of Nayabari in A. D. 1831, points to the fact that the Fāra'idī movement came into conflict by that time with the traditional Muslim society on the one hand and with the Hindu landlords on the other, in a similar manner as it happened with Titu Mīr and his followers about the same time in the district of 24 Parganahs.²

The *Ro-bakārī* describes the followers of Ḥājī Shari'at Allāh as "Tueeyyooni Hal", and the followers of the traditional customs as "Tueeyyooni Sabik". It adds further that the former, like other Muslims of the country, generally worshipped the Prophet and different Pīrs or spiritual guides, whereas the latter revered neither and disregarded established rules.

Barring the exaggeration contained in the above statement, it points to the fact that the *Farā'idīs* were puritan and revivalist of the type of those who became widely known as *Wahhābīs*, whereas the rest of the local Muslims were steeped in superstitious beliefs and practices and unlike the former, paid unusual reverence to the *Pīrs*.³

The terminology offered in the above statement gives another interesting point. The term "Tueeyyooni", more correctly "Ta'aiyuni", is derived from the Arabic word "ta'aiyun", which means "to identify". Hence the term "Ta'aiyuni" implies a person who identifies himself with a particular trend or school of law (*Madhhab*). It is well-known that the Muslims of Bengal, especially in rural areas, have always been almost to a man *Sunnī*, belonging to the *Ḥanafī* school of law or *Madhhab*. The term "Ta'aiyuni" applied to both the parties, indicates that both belonged to the *Ḥanafī* school of law, which is also corroborated

1 cf. James Wise: Notes on Races, Castes, and Trades of Eastern Bengal, 1884, p. 22.

2. See article of the present writer, "The Struggle of Titu Mir: a Re-examination", in J. A. S. P., Vol. iv, 1959, p 113 f.

3. See, our article in *Social Researches in East Pakistan*, Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publication No. 5, Dacca, 1960, p. 33.

ted by the findings of our recent investigation.¹ Probably, the term was applied for distinguishing them from such radical revivalists who repudiated the need of any school of law and declared themselves as the followers of the *Qur'an* and the tradition of the Prophet on their own interpretation, and who gradually came to be called *Lā madhhabī* (i. e., those who belonged to no recognised school) by their opponents. The distinction "Ta'aiyuni Hāl," applied on the *Farā'idīs*, obviously means "identifiers on the recent interpretation", i. e., followers of the *Ḥanafī* school of law in accordance with the revivalist interpretation; and the other term "Ta'aiyuni Sabik" (more correctly *Sābiq*), applied to the rest of the local Muslims, indicates, identifiers to the *Ḥanafī* school on the traditional interpretation; in other words, followers of the *Ḥanafī* school of law in accordance with the traditional customs. This latter group or the followers of traditional local customs came to be generally known later on as *Sābiqī*.²

We have, however, no other evidence beside this in support of the contention that the *Farā'idīs* were known as "Ta'aiyuni Hāl". But we know, on the other hand, that the followers of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī were definitely and specifically known as *Ta'aiyuni*³ especially during the later half of the nineteenth century, who were deadly against the *Farā'idīs*. Moreover, in the *Farā'idī* annals, there is no reference or hint of their ever having called themselves as "Ta'aiyuni" though the connotation of the term "Ta'aiyuni Hāl" vaguely corresponds to their views. The only probable conclusion, therefore, which we can draw is that the *Farā'idīs* may have also called themselves as "Ta'aiyuni Hāl" in the formative stage of their movement (in order to express their allegiance to the *Ḥanafī* school of law and to distinguish themselves from the so-called *Lā Maddhhabīs*), which may have been discarded soon afterwards,

1. See Social Researches in East Pakistan op. cit., p. 36.

2. See James Wise : *Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal*, p. 7.

3. *ibid.*

especially when their arch opponent Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī came to the fore with his *Ta'aisyunī* movement about A. D. 1839.

Regarding the judgment, the *Ro-bakārī* states that two *Farā'idī* leaders were sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment with a fine of Rs. 200 each, and some others were sentenced to similar terms with a smaller fine. It adds further that the Ḥājī was subsequently apprehended and was compelled to sign a bond with a security deposit of Rs. 200, to keep the peace for one year.

The importance of the present document would be evident by the fact that chronologically this is the first source of our information about the formative stage of the *Farā'idī* movement, and that, besides this, we have one letter contributed by a Hindu gentleman to the Bengali Newspaper *Darpan*¹ in A. D. 1837 and a few brisk observations of James Taylor² (written in A. D. 1839), which are the only sources written during the life time of Ḥājī Shari'at Allāh.³

Text of the Ro-bakārī

Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations (Lower Provinces), No. 6
Fort William, the 3rd April, 1832.

Roobookuree of the Magistrate of Dacca - Jelalpoore,
29th April, 1831

The Government Prosecutor against two parties of Mahomedans on a charge of affray with plunder and looting :—

The quarrel between the parties is this, that the one, the disciple(s) of a person named Hazee Shurecut Oollah and the other, the inhabitants of the village of Ramnagar⁴ had had for

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1. See, Brajendranath Bandopadhyay, ed., *Sumbād Patre Sekaler Kathā*, Calcutta, B. S. 1342, vol. III, pp. 311-12.
 2. James Taylor : *A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* (completed in March, 1839), Calcutta, 1840, pp. 248-50.
 3. Ḥājī Shari'at Allāh died in 1840.
 4. Ramnagar must have been a small village in Nayabari in the Dacca district. We have got further details of the incident from James Wise who describes it as the incident of Nayabari (See, James Wise : *Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal*, p. 22,

some time a difference in matters of religion. The former sect are known by the name of "Tueeyyooni Hal," the latter by that of "Tueeyyooni sabik". The latter like the inhabitants of the country generally worship Mahomed and the different Peers. The former reverences neither. In other matters also they disregard established rules. As for instance, in this case, one of the followers of Hajee wished to bring his brother over to that sect and on his not consenting, a large body of persons attacked and plundered the village in which he lived with the view of bringing about conversion by force. They repeated the attack after the next day.

Two leaders on the part of the followers of the Hagee, who were actively engaged in the affray, were sentenced to one year's imprisonment with labor and a fine of 200 Rupees and in default of payment of the fine, to imprisonment for a further period of one year. The others, to a similar punishment except that the fine imposed on them was only 100 Rupees.

Hajee Shureeut Oollah, the leader of the party was subsequently apprehended ; but no proof existing against him, he was released on a *Mochulka*¹ and giving security to the amount of 200 Rs. to keep the peace for one year.

*A Document giving Power of Attorney by Dudu Miyān
to Munshī Faiḍ al-Dīn Mukhtār.*

This power of Attorney delegated by the *Farā'idī* leader, Muḥsin al-Dīn Ahmād *alias* Dudu Miyān relates entirely to his personal properties. Although it throws no direct light on the growth and development of the *Farā'idī* movement, yet it illuminates a few dark corners of our knowledge which have relevance to the study of its history. In the first place, it shows that Dudu Miyān had acquired extensive landed property in Faridpur, Dacca and Bakarganj, even though it does not specify the extent of his properties or the amount of his income. Secondly, it proves a close attachment of Munshī Faiḍ al-Dīn Mukhtār to Dudu Miyān and vice versa. It may be noted that the

1. *Mochulka*, correctly "Muṣliḥah", an Arabic word which means covenant or bond.

Munshī was originally an inhabitant of Jessore, who immigrated to Faridpur about A. D. 1840 and enrolled himself, as a practising lawyer or *Mukhtār* in the Faridpur Court. Though he was not a *Farā'idī* himself, he played an important role as a guardian and protector of the sons and successors of Dudu Miyān.¹ Thirdly, it bears a signature of Dudu Miyān in his own hand. Moreover, it being the only relic of Dudu Miyān coming down to us, its importance should not be under-estimated.

The document is written in Bengali character and in the typical language known as "Court Bengali". It was composed on the 22nd Paus, B. S. 1255 and registered in the Court of Faridpur on the 3rd Magh B. S. 1255/15th January, 1849. It is written on two non-judicial stamp papers, joined together. The stamps were bought on the 20th Paus, B. S. 1255/ 2nd January, 1849. Dudu Miyān, the giver of Power of Attorney, signed his name in Arabic character, while Munshī Faiḍ al-Dīn Mukhtār and the witnesses signed in Bengali character. The signatures of the court officials and stamp-vender are in Persian and illegible. The document is presented below in original Bengali, followed by English translation.

Text of the Power of Attorney²

Obverse :-

Stamp Office ³

Four Rupees

চারি টাকা

چهار روپیہ

استامپ افس

دودو میاں
فایز الدین
مختار

1. See, *J. A. S. P.*, vol. IV, P. 132.

2. See *infra.*, Photograph.

3. Seal of the stamp paper.

4. Signature of the institutor, Dudu Miyān,

Line

1. লিখিতঃ শ্রী মহেেনদিন আহামদ ওরফে দুদু মিঞা
2. সাকিন বাহাদুরপুর থানে সিবচর মহকামে ফরিদপুর
3. কস্ত আম মোজার নামা পত্রমিদং কার্য্যধাগে আমার
4. জমিদারি ও তালুকাত ও হাওলা, ও নিম্ন হাওলা, ওসত হাওলা
5. ও জোত জমা ও স্বনামি ও বিনামী এলাকাহায়ের মহকুমা
6. ফরিদপুর ও জিলে ঢাকা ও জিলে বাথরগঞ্জ শাধিন ¹ (?) নিম্নজ
7. আয়ে তাহাতে উপর উক্ত এলাকাহায়ের শংক্রান্ত জে² সকল
8. মকদ্দমা জজ³ সাহেব আদালত ও প্রধান সদর আমিন
9. আদালত ও মনছফহায়ে ও আদালতের মোকারিরার আমিন মোস্তালীক
10. ও মাজেঠরি ও জানটু⁴ মাজেঠরি ও ডেপুটি মাজেঠরি ও ইসিস-
11. ণ্ট⁵ মাজেঠরি ও থানাহায়ের ও কালেঠরি ও ডেপুটি কালেঠরি
12. ও বিসপীসীওল⁶ কালেঠরি ও কালেঠরি আফিস, কমিসনারি ও ফৌজ-
13. দারি আফিস সিসিওন জজ⁷ আদালত ও আবগারি সাপ্রটেন্ট⁸ ও
14. কমিসনর ও নিটির কমিসন (?) ও মোং⁹ কলিকাতার সদর দেওয়ানি আদালত
15. ও নেজামত ও গবরেনমেন্ট ও বিলাত আফিস ও খাস কমিসন ও সুপ্রা-
16. টেন্ট পুলিস মোহকামাহায়ের মৈধ্যে জে জে মহকামার হাকিম
17. সমিপে আমার মকদ্দমা উপস্থিত আছে এবং হালে জাহা উপস্থিত
18. হইবেক ও আমার নামে কেহ নালীষ করে কীছা আমি কোন লোকের

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1. Probably, the actual word was “অধিন”, which was carelessly written by the scribe. At any rate, the meaning must be read as “অধিন”
 2. Obviously it is “ষে”.
 3. i. e., “জজ”.
 4. i. e., “জয়েন্ট” or joint.
 5. i. e., এসিসটেন্ট or Assistant.
 6. i. e., এসপেশাল or Special.
 7. i. e., সেসন জজ or Session Judge.
 8. সুপারিটেণ্ডেন্ট or Superintendent.
 9. মোং stands for “মোত’আল্লাক”, which means “relating to”.

Line

- 19 নামে নালীষ করি তাহার তালাফি তদবির করেন আমার পক্ষে
20. জিলা জএসরের শাধিন^১ পানিপাড়া নিবাসী সেক আগর মোহাম্মদ
21. সতকার^২ পুত্র শ্রী মুনসী ফৈজদ্দিনকে মোক্তার নির্দিষ্ট করিয়া লিখিয়া
22. দিতেছি উপর উক্ত জখন জে^৩ জিলা এ হাকিমআনের সমীপে
23. এবং রেজেষ্টর সাহেবের মহকামা এ হাজির হইয়া সহাল জওব
24. তদবির তালাফি ও দরখাস্ত দাখিল করা ও দস্তাবেজাত দাখিল
26. করা ও আদালত হইতে টাকা ওপোচ লওয়ার রসীদ ও দস্তাবেজাত
27. ওপোচ লওয়ার রসীদ ও আদালতের ফএছলা লওয়ার রসীদ ও
28. আদালতের মোকরররির উকিলের নামে ওকালতনামা ও উকালতর
29. দিনে দোসরা উকালতনামা ও মোচনীয়া^৪ ও কালেক্টরি খাজানিখানা
30. তোহবিলে খাজানা দাখিল করার চালান ইত্যাদিতে আমার নাম
31. দস্তখতে আপন নাম বকলম দস্তখত করিয়া দাখিল করা ইত্যাদি
32. আমার নিজ ক্রেত লেখা এ কোবুল সেনেজর এতদার্থে আম
33. মোক্তারনামা লিখিয়া দিলাম ইতি সন ১২৫৫ বিস্তারিত
34. ২২ পোষ ।

ইসাদি^৫ লিখিতঃ

শ্রী ফৈজদ্দিন তালাবেলম

গাং^৬ গণ

শ্রী সেখ এম্বাকুব লিখিতঃ

গাং গণ গোপালপাড়া ।

আমি এই^৭ মোক্তারনামা

দেহন্দাকে ও সাক্ষীগণকে

চিনি —

ফৈজদ্দিন মোক্তার ।

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1. It stands for অধিন, as explained above in foot note p. 126
 2. It must be read as “সতকার”.
 3. Here numt er “২” stands for doubling, i. e., জে জে, actually meaning “যে যে”.
 4. Obviously Muhsiniyah Endowment Estate.
 5. Signature of the witnesses.
 6. গাংগণ stands for “গাইরহগণ”.
 7. Signature of the receiver of the power of Attorney, Munshi Faiz al-Din Mukhtar.

Reverse :—

নং ২৮^১

(sd).^২ illegible

Line

1. অত্র মুনসী ফৈজদ্দিন মোক্তার এই মোক্তারনামা
2. হজুরে উপস্থিত করিয়া মোক্তার নামায় লিখিত ফৈজদ্দিন^৩
3. ও সেক এআকুব সাক্ষীগণকে সনাক্ত করিয়া
4. যায় সাক্ষীগণ প্রতিজ্ঞাপূর্বক মোক্তারনামা
5. দায়ক উহার দ্বারায় মোকাবেলা আপন নাম দস্তখত
6. করিয়া মোক্তার মকদ্দরের নামে এই মোক্তারনামা দেওয়ার
7. কথা প্রকাশিতমতে তছদোক করা গেল ইং তাং^৪
8. ১৫ জানুয়ারী সন ১৮৪২ মোং^৫ ৩ মাঘ সন ১২৫৫

(sd.) illegible.^৬

(sd.) illegible^৭

২২^৮

১৮৪২ সন— ২ জানুয়ারী

১২৫৫ সন ২০ পৌষ

(sd.) illegible

illegible

illegible

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1. Serial number of the registration.
 2. Signature of the dealing clerk in Persian.
 3. *i. e.*, Faïd al-Dīn (student), the witness.
 4. ইং তাং stand for ইংরাজি তারিখ, *i. e.*, English date.
 5. মোং stands for মোতাবেক, which means “corresponding to”.
 6. Signature of the clerk in Persian.
 7. Signature of the Registrar in English.
 8. This bottom right corner contains the serial number of the stamp paper, date of purchase, name of purchaser (and probably his signature too) and the signature of the Vender.

Translation ¹*Obverse*

1. Know all men, by this, present, I, Shri Muḥsin al-Dīn Aḥmed *alias* Dudu Miyān,
2. of village Bahadurpur, Thana Sibchar, Sub-division Faridpur,
3. hereby delegate constituted power of Attorney to take such actions which may be required with regard to my
4. *Zamīndārī*, *ta'tūks*, *hawlah*, *nim-hawlah*, *osat hawlah*¹
5. and *jot jamā*, *svanāmi* and *benāmi* rights in the sub-division of
6. Faridpur and in the districts of Dacca and Bakarganj,
7. (and in respect of) law-suits relating to the above-mentioned rights,
8. in the courts of Judge and the chief *Sadar Amīn*,
9. and in respect of (such other law-suits or anything connected therewith) in Courts of *Munsifs* and the *Amīn* of the *Adālat Muqarrirah*,
10. and (in the Courts of) the Magistrate, Joint Magistrate, Deputy Magistrate and Assistant
11. Magistrate, and in the Thanahs, and in the offices of the Collector, Deputy Collector
12. and special Collector, and (in respect of) appeal suits in the Courts of the Collector and the Commissioner, and (in respect of) criminal
13. appeal (suits), and (in respect of whatever suits my lie) in the Courts of the Session Judge and in the Superintendent of Customs and
14. the Commissioner, and (in respect of any thing which may lie before) the Nitir (?) Commission, *Sadar Diwānī Adālat* of Calcutta
15. and *Nizāmat* (Adālat), the Government of India, appeal suits to London, *Khaṣ* Commission and the Superintendent of
- 16-17. Police, and in those sub-divisions where any of my suits

1. Although owing to some difficulties a literal translation is attempted here, no pain was spared to conform to the requisite form generally practised in the law courts of Bengal.

THE TRAINING OF THE CENTRAL CIVIL SERVANTS IN PAKISTAN

Dr. Muzaffar Ahmad Chaudhuri

Need for training.

The training of the Civil Servants has assumed special significance in the light of the increased responsibilities imposed on the administration by the extension of the governmental activities in social and economic fields.¹ The State in its role of providing for the material and moral well-being of every one of its citizens has assumed several new functions of enormous magnitude and significance in the social and economic spheres. Modern society itself is becoming more and more closely-knit and inter-dependent, and what is done in one field has its repercussions in many others. Administration itself has become a highly specialised and complex task calling for a high degree of specialised knowledge in several fields. It is symptomatic of the growing complexity of the task that very few administrative decisions today can be taken without consulting or calling for the co-operation of many interests. The growing complexity of conditions and the increasing difficulty of modern problems render the systematic training in administration, its methods and techniques, highly necessary.

When the majority of recruits enter into the services at a young age, they are merely raw recruits as they come almost immediately after taking a degree at one of the Universities. They are admitted to the competitive examinations between 21

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1. In British India, the main functions of the administrators were confined to the collection of revenue, administration of justice, and the maintenance of law and order. To-day, the administrators are called upon to assume increasingly complex responsibilities in social and economic fields on a scale unknown in the past. See the report of the First Five Year Plan, 1966, Vol. 1. p. 99-100,

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and 25. The recruits are not expected to have any knowledge of the skills or techniques in administration. At this age they are unlikely to have any great experience of men and affairs. This clearly establishes the need for a proper system of planned training. Again, the general quality of the pre-entry university education of recruits in Pakistan, is not rather quite satisfactory.¹ The candidates are not of the "requisite intellectual stature" and they show "deficiency in outlook and mental reactivity."² It is, therefore, necessary to arrange an intensive and planned course of training to make up for the deficiencies of the present university education. Emphasising the need of training, the Assheton Committee³ said, "the disadvantages, more especially on the long-term view, inherent in the policy of leaving the recruits to learn his job by trial and error, are very formidable. They include not only delay in his becoming a fully effective member of the department, but also a risk of dissipating the enthusiasm with which he enters on his first job."

The Civil Service of Pakistan, in particular, like the Administrative Class in Britain is the cream of the public service. They shoulder a heavy burden and on them rests a heavy responsibility. They have in their power to influence policy by the advice they give to ministers. They are concerned with the co-ordination and improvement of government machinery and with the management and control of administrative departments. The members of this service provide executive officers in the districts as well. "The dominant feature of public service policies

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1. Report of the Educational Reforms Commission, East Pakistan, 1957, Report of the Dacca University Enquiry Committee, Vols. I & II, 1956. Report of the Punjab University Enquiry Commission, 1951-52, Lahore. Report of the Commission on National Education, Government of Pakistan, 1960.
 2. P. P. S. Pamphlet of the Combined Competitive Examinations for recruits to the C. S. S., 1951, P. 19.
 3. Report to the Committee on the Training of the Civil Servants, Cmd. 6525, 1944, P. 27.

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knowledge of political, social, cultural and psychological background of the community they are called upon to serve. The mental ability, natural equipment and ambitions of each and every one should be given the fullest scope so that there will be the least possible waste of energy and ability. Every Civil Servant should be provided with adequate opportunities to improve his equipment and be fit for higher and more responsible tasks in administration. They should be encouraged to continue their general cultural education as a background to higher departmental training. The post-entry training should not be restricted merely to instructions in administrative techniques but must include an effort at character building and at a broadening of interest and outlook. The training scheme should be utilised to develop an *esprit de corps* in the service as a whole.

The five-fold aims of training, as laid down by the Assheton Committee are :-¹

1. Training should endeavour to provide a civil servant whose precision and clarity in the transaction of business can be taken for granted.
2. The Civil Servant must be attuned to the tasks he will be called upon to perform in a changing world. The Civil Service must continuously and boldly adjust its outlook and its methods to the new needs of new times.
3. The Civil Servant should not be allowed to fall into the danger of becoming mechanised by machine. The recruit from the start should be made aware of the relation of his work to the service rendered by his department to the community. The capacity to see what he is doing in a wider setting will make the work not only more valuable to his department, but more stimulating to himself. In

in the social sciences appears to be presented by the ground which lies between law, economics, political science and psychology, a territory which has so far been almost unexplored". Public Administration To-day, p. 7

1. Report of the Committee on the Training of Civil Servants, Cmd. 6525, 1944, p. 10-11.

addition, therefore, to purely vocational training directed to the proper performance of his day-to-day work, he should receive instruction on a broader basis as well as encouragement to persevere with his own educational development.

4. Even as regards vocational training, it is not sufficient to train solely for the job which lies immediately at hand. Training must be directed not only to enabling an individual to perform his current work more efficiently, but also to fitting him for other duties and, where appropriate, developing his capacity for higher work and greater responsibilities.
5. The training plans, to be successful, must pay substantial regard to staff morale to offset the dull monotony of routine work.

It is of utmost importance that every probationer should realise that he is entering upon a life of service, and that he would be a servant of the people and not their master. The Civil Servants should be given proper training in the methods of dealing with the members of the public. "Nothing could be more disastrous than that the Civil Service and the public should think of themselves as two separate camps. The inculcation of the right attitude towards the public and towards business should therefore be one of the principal aims of Civil Service training. The Civil Servant must never forget that he is the servant, not the master, of the community, and that official competence need not, and should not, involve the loss of the human touch."¹ This is all the more important because the ever increasing activities of the modern government bring the Civil Servants into contact with the public in numberless ways.

Stress should also be laid on the basic training in the formation of the right mental attitude to questions of personal and public conduct. The probationers should realise that as

1. Ibid, p. 11.

Civil Servants, they must always maintain, and show that they are maintaining, absolute integrity and impartiality. They must voluntarily accept stricter standards of public and private conduct than those expected of an ordinary citizen.

The objectives of the training¹ as stated above, serve to show that the training of the Civil Servants has assumed a wider connotation and meaning now-a-days. It includes not only vocational training designed to make the Civil Servant fit to perform his current duty but also instruction on a broader basis to develop his capacity for higher work and greater responsibilities. The training of the Civil Servants is to be a continuous process and may be in two stages—initial training and in-service training. In the U. S. A., the Universities provide initial training to persons desirous of seeking careers in the Civil Service. The departments of the government can also provide for this. The initial training needs to be followed by intensive in-service training, both formal and informal. The formal type means that the officer gets away from his routine work for a period and spends the time in undergoing some specialised training or particular type of education. The informal type of in-service training implies that facilities are afforded to an officer while on his job to improve his knowledge and to develop his capacities.

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1. It may be of some interest to mention in this connection the different aspects of training stressed by Mr. S. B. Bapat, the Director of the Indian Administrative Service Training School. According to him, the conception of "training" is a compound of several distinct elements. In one sense, training means the imparting of knowledge and facts and their relations—knowledge essentially of a specialised or professional nature. In another sense, training involves the teaching of techniques which require the co-ordinated handling of tools and appliances. In yet another sense, training entails the formation of mental and physical habit patterns to ensure that the same stimuli would always produce the same automatic responses. Training of this type is by no means wholly harmful and may indeed play a socially

The exact nature of training will vary according to the different levels of the Civil Service. The higher grades of the Civil Servants will require wider and more thorough training than the middle ones and the latter more than the lower ones. It will also vary according to the nature of the job. Where the work is of a general type, a broad type of training will be necessary. This appears to be the case in regard to the C. S. P. in Pakistan, for example, because the C. S. P. is a multipurpose service composed of generalist administrators who are expected to hold posts involving a wide variety of duties and functions—law and order, collection of revenue, regulation of trade, commerce, industry, welfare activities in the field of education, health, labour and development and extension of work in agriculture and rural reconstruction. Again, if the work is of a technical or professional character, substantial professional training is called for and yet broad training in this case also should not be overlooked. Training will depend, again, on the nature, volume and variety of the socio-economic plans for the development of the country. Training needs to be comprehensive if the educational system of the country is backward.

Initial Training in Pakistan

The recruits to the C. S. P. undergo training for a little over two years, divided into three stages. The first stage is the academic training at the Civil Service Academy at Lahore; the second stage is five months' practical work in East Pakistan;

useful part in the creation of disciplined and reliable bodies of men in all walks of life. Finally, (the most important sense), training implies what the good gardener does to the growing sapling—pruning off the unwanted bits, supporting the weaker limbs, generally giving shape and direction but otherwise leaving the plant free to grow to its full natural stature. (S. B. Bapat "The Training of the Indian Administrative Service", in The Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. I. No. 2, April/June 1955, p. 122)

and the third is a year's partly academic and partly study-tour investigation of administration in Britain.¹

The Civil Service Academy

The Civil Service Academy was set up in 1948. It functions under the general control of the Establishment Division which was formerly a part of the Cabinet Secretariat and now of the Ministry of the Interior.² The Academy is headed by a Director, who had been a senior British member of the old I.C.S. The staff consists of a Deputy Director, two lecturers in law, and part-time lecturers in languages and Islamic studies.³ The system of teaching Bengali and Urdu—the two State languages of Pakistan—and Islamic studies by part-time lecturers does not appear to be a satisfactory method. Persons appointed on a part-time basis may not always give whole-hearted attention to their work. We think that these subjects should be taught by permanent and whole-time lecturers.

In the first stage, the young recruits receive instruction in the Civil Service Academy for a period of nine months. This period is divided into three terms. In the first term, they are given an intensive course of instruction in Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure Code, Civil Procedure Code, Evidence Act, Punjab Revenue Laws, Bengal Revenue Laws, and Bengali and Urdu. The recruits from West Pakistan must know Bengali and the recruits from East Pakistan must know Urdu. Instruction is also given in the governmental and administrative structure of Pakistan, in history and Islamic studies.⁴ All the recruits are to learn typewriting. This occupies 23½ hours a week. As the time available for instruction of a general kind is extremely

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1. Notification No. F. 25/47/49 SEI, Government of Pakistan. Cabinet Secretariat (Establishment Division), Karachi, 1954.
 2. Recently, the Establishment Division has been shifted back to the President's Secretariat. This seems to be the appropriate place.
 3. Information supplied by the Director of the Civil Service Academy.
 4. Ibid,

limited, the Academy has initiated an ingenious system whereby the students are expected, by the end of their nine months' course, to have read, very thoroughly, eight books of different kinds. The list is drawn up by the Director of the Academy and may be changed from year to year.¹ The list in 1955 included the memoirs of Sir Winston Churchill, a work on the Government and politics of America, a book on Stalin, a Survey of the British rule in India, etc.² A great deal depends on how wise is the selection of books. The biographies of great administrators may be a useful addition.

During the second term the recruits spend an hour and a half daily in practical exercises directly connected with their instruction in revenue law (practical revenue field work). "This enables them to learn, in a concrete way, the basic revenue procedures in the various provinces of Pakistan", said Mr. Bertrand.³ The normal work of this period is interrupted by different activities which keep the students away from Lahore for a period. They spend a brief period in the Pakistan army. They also go to a district in the Punjab, and this gives them their first opportunity of seeing on the spot how district administration is carried out. Finally, special visits are arranged for them to see various development projects in agriculture and industry.

The last term is very short. It is devoted to the last part of the formal lecture course and in preparation for the examination held at the end of their training in the Academy. The examination carries 500 marks out of which 240 marks are allotted to various legal subjects, 30 to survey and measurement, 40 to Islamic studies, 60 to languages, 50 to horse riding

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1. A. Bertrand. "The Civil Service Academy of Lahore and the Training of the Members of the Civil Service of Pakistan" in *International Social Science Bulletin*, Vol. VII No. 2, 1955, p. 265.
 2. *Ibid*, p. 266
 3. *Ibid*,

which continues throughout the nine months, 40 to the Constitution of Pakistan, and 40 to compulsory reading.¹

The second stage consists of five months' practical training in East Pakistan. It fulfils several purposes. Politically, it enables the recruits to the C. S. P. from West Pakistan to know East Pakistan as the training at the Academy at Lahore enables the members of C.S.P. from East Pakistan to know West Pakistan better. It thus enables the young C.S.P. officers to know and understand both wings of the country. This is of great value to the unity of Pakistan separated between east and west by Indian territory. "This in itself is fundamental, Eastern Bengal being separated from Western Pakistan by 1, 250 miles of Indian territory. The unity of the new state will be preserved to the extent that its officials have familiarised themselves with the human and sociological characteristics of the inhabitants of the various provinces".² During this period the young civil servants come to grips with actual problems of administration. This period also enables them to make use of the knowledge they have gained at the Academy. They are distributed among different districts of East Pakistan, each being placed under the control and supervision of a district magistrate and collector,³ under whose authority they are initiated into the handling of actual public affairs. Each probationer is to try sixteen petty criminal cases and this initiates him into one of his future tasks which he will be called upon to perform in his capacity as magistrate. It also enables the young probationers to see on the spot how the different activities and functions of the collector in different capacities are actually handled. It also gives them an opportunity to understand the local problem

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1. Information supplied by the Director of the Civil Service Academy.
 2. A. Bertrand : *International Social Service Bulletin*, Vol. VII, No. 2 op. cit. 1955, p 266
 3. Recently, the official designation of the Collector & Magistrate has been changed into that of the Deputy Commissioner in East Pakistan. In West Pakistan, they are already known by that designation.

and need and the way they can be met on the spot. They are also acquainted with the methods and procedure of administration at the district level. Each probationer has to keep a diary in which he notes the results of his experiments with comments. This diary is sent by the Collector to the Director of the Academy, who subsequently returns it to the author with appropriate comments. The Director also pays an annual visit to East Pakistan to see how his students are faring during their probation.

No performance report is made on the work of the students during the probationary period. At the end of this period they sit for a special confirmatory examination at Dacca, at which papers are set specifically on administrative work done during this period. The examination is conducted by the Federal Public Service Commission. The seniority of each batch of probationers inter se is determined by the aggregate of marks obtained in the open competitive examination, the final examination at Lahore and the confirmatory examination at Dacca¹.

At the third stage the C. S. P. probationers are sent to Britain and half of them go to the University of Oxford, and the other half to the University of Cambridge. They pursue a regular academic course in these two famous seats of learning for one full academic session. They attend courses on public administration, political science, economics and social institutions. They are also to write an essay consisting of eight to ten thousand words on any subject connected with administration. They also acquaint themselves with the working methods and techniques of the British administration which is highly modern and built on long and well-established traditions. They spend a month in London, learning how British government offices are run, and the techniques of inter-departmental co-ordination. They are to attend a course of training conducted by the Education and Training Division of the Treasury. It lasts for about two weeks. Two months are reserved for a study of the local government on the spot, in collaboration with a selected County Council. They also pay a series of visits to various places of

1. Careers in the Pakistan Central Superior Services, 1954, P. 5

interest in Britain. This enables the young Pakistani officials to have a bird's eye view of certain economic and social problems in Britain. At the end of this period their supervisors send a report on each one of them to the Government of Pakistan.

This period which they spend in the intellectually invigorating and stimulating atmosphere of two of the oldest and most famous Universities in Britain is of great value. It widens their interests, broadens their outlook, and develops their self-confidence. It gives them an opportunity to come into contact with different peoples, cultures, ways of life, and the political and governmental system. It is likely to give the young members of the C. S. P. what William James called the "pungent sense of effective reality". Study and training abroad "would shake complacency, institute comparison, compel reflection and broaden the mind as nothing else can", said Professor Finer.¹

Officers who satisfactorily complete their training are confirmed. Those who fail to do so may be allowed a second chance or may be removed from the Service. They may also be removed if it is thought that they will not make satisfactory officers or for conduct unbecoming a member of the Service. So far it has not been necessary to take this extreme measure.² During the entire period of two years, the probationers remain under the disciplinary control of the Director of the Academy, who makes a confidential evaluation of each one. The Director is required to submit two reports on each probationer—one when a probationer has completed four months in the Academy and the other when he leaves the Academy. The Collector of the district in which a probationer receives training in East Pakistan is to submit one month before the termination of the probationer's training there, a confidential report to the Commissioner who forwards it to the Government through the Chief Secretary to the Government of East Pakistan and the Director.³

1. Finer, H. *The British Civil Service*, 1927. p. 45

2. *Careers in the Pakistan Central Superior Service*, 1954, p. 5

3. Cabinet Secretariat, Establishment Division, Notification No. F25/47/49-SEL, 1954.

On the completion of their training they are sent to the provinces for regular posting. During the first five years of their service, officers are posted to particular provinces, but during the next five years they are required to serve at least for three years in the other wing of Pakistan. After this, posting will be governed by the needs of the Service. For the first one or two years they receive further training in magisterial, revenue and development work under the guidance of the Collectors and Deputy Commissioners. They also receive some training in administrative work in the Secretariat for a brief spell. During this period, they are required to pass a number of departmental examinations designed to test their grasp of practical work and of provincial laws. These examinations are conducted by the Provincial Governments. After they pass these examinations, they are given the powers of subdivisional officers, & what is more, an increment in pay. In addition, increments in the scale of pay may be advanced or retarded by, success or failure. Gradually, they move on to other administrative & executive posts until at the end of six or seven years they become eligible for senior posts—collectors, deputy Commissioners, & deputy Secretaries.¹

The system of training for the young recruits to the C. S. P. differs from that of their predecessors, the I. C. S. officers, in that it is run by a Central Academy. It retains some features of the previous system in that the C. S. P. officers, like the old I. C. S. officers in the past, pursue a full year's academic course in the British Universities. It is not easy to distinguish between the nine months' theoretical instruction in the Civil Service Academy at Lahore & a year's academic course in Oxford & Cambridge, which the C. S. P. officers receive in two stages, & general education. The whole period of training is under the supervision & control of the Civil Service Academy which tries to be both a source of higher administrative culture & education as well as a training body. This system differs from the position in Britain where the young recruits to the Administrative class do not

1. Careers in the Pakistan Central Superior Services, 1954, p. 5.
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receive any theoretical training & instruction either in a Central Institution or in a University, but attend a fortnight's course run by the Education & Training Division of the Treasury. It is interesting to mention that Professor W. A. Robson, one of the most eminent thinkers of our time has emphasized, as noted below, the need to set up a training school for the civil servants in Britain. Again the five months' practical training which C. S. P. officers receive in districts in East Pakistan is largely similar to that of the I. C. S. officers in the past except that the C. S. P. officers are to devote more time & attention to development work. It differs from that of the entrants to the Administrative class in Britain, who are trained mainly in administrative work & not in executive work, & this is done in the central Department & offices. The members of the C. S. P. come into closer contact with local people and their problems than do the members of the Administrative class in Britain. The training of the C. S. P. officers resembles that of the civil Administrators in France in some respects. The French administrator, during his first year of training spends a whole year in the department (which is similar to a district in Pakistan) & in North Africa where he learns executive work under the supervision of a prefect or a senior administrator.

At this stage, it might be both interesting & instructive to refer briefly to the main features of the comprehensive system of theoretical & practical training conducted by the Ecole Nationale d'Administration for the higher civil servants in France.

The French system is in three stages and covers a period of three years. First, shortly after joining the E. N. A. the young Civil Servants are sent for the whole of their first year to serve under prefects in the departments or senior administrators in North Africa. The students are away from their habitual milieu of thought and life. It enables them to have personal knowledge of France, to mix with all classes and types of men and to acquire first-hand experience of rural, industrial and workers' circles. It brings them into contact with all parts of the French society¹. They pass the first year under the guidance of prefects

1. Chapman, B. *The Profession of Government*, 1959, p. 115-6

or general administrators. The senior administrator is asked to regard the student attached to him as his personal assistant : to bring him into close touch with his day to day work, to show him all but secret correspondence, to take him to official meetings and formal social occasions.¹ He is also asked to introduce him into the detail of administrative work. It enables the students to see how administrative problems are actually handled in concrete cases, to understand the local needs and problems and the way they can be met on the spot, and discover the methods and procedures of administration. It gives them an insight into all kinds of administrative problems.² One of three directors of the E. N. A. is personally responsible for supervising the students during this year and he travels throughout the year keeping in touch both with the students and with the officials in charge of them. This is likely to minimise the chances of a serious error. At the end of this period, supervising official sends a comprehensive report on the student placed in his charge, on his intellectual and human possibilities, his application, intelligence and personality.³ The report is given a formal mark. The student is also required to write a short thesis on particular subject or problem which has interested him during this period, with critical observations and constructive suggestions for improvement. The standard of this written work seems to be quite high and covers a wide range of subjects from rural housing projects to local irrigation schemes, social welfare programmes & so on.⁴ This is also given a mark. Each student is also required to send to the E. N. A. periodical report of his activities during this year.⁵

1. Ibid, p. 116.

2. Andre Bertrand : "The Recruitment of the Higher Civil Servants in the United Kingdom & France", in *The Civil Service In Britain & France*, edited by Professor Robson, 1856, p. 180

3. Ibid, p. 116.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

The second year in the E. N. A. is devoted to a cycle of studies of a systematic and more intellectual character. The aim is to complete the general cultural knowledge of the students but with emphasis on aspects which will impinge on their official work, and to give them an "administrative formation." During this period instruction falls into two categories—courses of general instruction, common to all divisions,¹ and courses specially designed for the needs of individual divisions. The courses common to all divisions are of various kinds. There are general courses on national questions of vital concern, and these are treated, as far as possible, in the context of relevant foreign experience in the same fields.² Others are more specialised, for example, the development of French territories in South Sahara; the administration's rise of statistical techniques, demographic research, or the problems of national defence.³ Another set of general courses common to all divisions is devoted to the problems of North Africa. In 1955, these covered elements of Muslim history and Sociology, the Franco - Tunisian conventions of 1955, and the problem of employment in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco.⁴ There are also general lectures, dealing with the problems that confront a modern welfare state, given by University professors and high-ranking Civil Servants. These are followed by general discussion between the lecturer and the students. The teaching of foreign languages is also included in the general course. The courses specially designed for the needs of individual divisions

1. The French higher Civil Service is divided into four major divisions—General Administration, Financial and Economic, Social Administration and Foreign Affairs.
2. In 1955, General courses were given on the technical problems of industrial economics, the question of underdeveloped countries with special reference to South American experience, co-partnership in industry, the bases of French agriculture, and judicial control, over public authorities and the protection of the individual. See the Brochure published by the ENA, in 1955.
3. Chapman, B: The Profession of Government, 1959. p. 117-18
4. Ibid, p. 118, (4). Ibid.

are much more intensively specialised. In the Financial and Economic Affairs Division, for instance, there are three courses in the year: public finance and accounting, economic programming and the problems of international finance and the balance of payments. There is also a programme of seminars on economic and financial affairs, and on industrial administration. It also covers international economic problems, the problems of financial management, and the economic and financial problems of overseas territories. They also deal with the functions of the departments included in the respective divisions. The various problems which arise in the departments, from time to time, are posed for discussion and the students are required to prepare papers on these problems. There is, thus, a programme of seminars on different problems. This stimulates thinking and encourages research. It also assists the development of analytical faculties and the ability to state a problem in a clear and logical way and make constructive suggestions for its treatment.

At the end of this period, all probationers go through a classificatory examination, consisting of three papers, two oral tests and one test in a foreign language.¹ The students are then assigned to different careers.

The third and last year then begins. During this period, the students are attached for about three months to private industrial, commercial or agricultural enterprises. This is intended to bring the probationers into touch with the business community to enable them to appreciate the problems and methods of work of the commercial, industrial or agricultural world, and also to create a basis of mutual understanding. They are expected to study production programmes and methods, social relations and financial management. Those attached to an industrial unit are also required to spend a period as workmen. It serves the purpose of giving the probationers an idea of the psychology of the workers and of their hopes and expectations. Once more the probationer's experience is broadened in

1. Andre Bertrand, *op. cit.* p. 182

new domains, which may be of great value to him in future.¹ At the end of this period, the probationers come back to the E. N. A., and receive instruction specifically related to their future tasks. The training is devoted mainly to guided practical work relating to their respective departments. The probationers are given actual departmental files and are asked to prepare resumes of the views recorded and to suggest solutions with cogent reasons for their adoption. During the same period, the probationers spend a part of their time in their corps or departments to familiarise themselves with the machinery of the government as a whole and with the internal structure of their own organ of administration in particular. They are initiated into the work of their departments by lectures given by senior administrators and they take part in departmental and inter-departmental Committees. The student is expected to deal with complicated pieces of business as they present themselves to the administrator in the course of his ordinary working life, and, as far as possible, he is expected to examine in depth the work of all the different divisions of the ministry or administration to which he is appointed.² At the end of this period they begin their careers as Civil Servants.

This is a very elaborate and comprehensive system of training for the Civil Servants. This is by far the most famous experiment in training civil servants in modern times. At this stage, a short critical review of the system might be useful. "After a decade of experiment and experience it has, some of its important features can be incorporated into the training arrangements for the higher civil Servants in Pakistan with considerable advantage both to the trainees and the administration. It has become an established part of French public life, and its products show a breadth, intelligence, competence, and administrative and humanistic culture rarely to be found in administrators of comparable age in other countries", observes Professor

1. A. Bertrand : "The Recruitment & Training of Higher Civil Servants in the United Kingdom & France", in *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, edited by Professor Robson 1956, p. 183

2. Ibid,

Chapman.¹ Most observers seem to be of the view that the highly improved quality of the young administrator is well worth the extra period of training and the additional expenses involved. Most foreign observers have often been rather extravagant and uncritical in conferring praise on the ENA. To put it in its proper perspective, some of the defects which the French critics have noted in this system, need to be mentioned. Firstly, some of the basic aims of the ENA have not been wholly realised. Paris still produces an over-whelming majority of the successful candidates for the ENA. There is no doubt, that Paris attracts brilliant youngmen. This explains the relative success the French have had in democratising the higher Civil service. The ENA has not been quite successful in recruiting people from the skilled worker level of society, the majority of the candidates being from the middle class families. Another defect noted by the French critics is that no candidate can be sure of choosing his career. The long time involved might scare off some of the good candidates. Finally, there is the question whether the ENA may not be casting its net too wide. It seems possible that it should cut down the number of administrators it caters for. There are complaints that some ENA products have been of much worse quality than the pre-war entrants.² These shortcomings apart, the ENA represents perhaps the most comprehensive and rigorous training arrangements for the members of the higher Civil Service in modern times.

The Finance Services Academy. The members of the various finance services—audit and accounts, income tax, railway accounts, excise, customs and others,—had been trained on their respective jobs. But it has been found unsatisfactory, and in 1957 an institution called the Finance Services Academy was established for the training of the members of these services. It is organised more or less on the model of the Civil Service Academy. The head of the Academy is a high ranking British member of the old I. C. S. He is assisted by a staff of three, including an

1. Chapman, B. *The Profession of Government*, 1959, p. 121

2. *Ibid.*

assistant-director and resident economist. It is managed by an executive Council representing the various services trained.

Post-graduate training is given on a systematic basis in economics, public administration, public finance, financial organisation and the working of such world bodies as the International Monetary Fund and world Bank. A course on book-keeping, some lectures on Civil and Criminal Law and on current affairs are also included. This training occupies the first nine months of the total training period of two years.² The next year consists of departmental training in the particular Finance & Revenue Services to which the probationers belong. This is also carried on systematically under the general direction of the Academy. Finally, the probationers are assigned to business firms, commercial banks, the State Bank, and the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation for three months.³ This brings the probationers into contact with the problems and methods of work in the commercial, industrial and banking world. It enables them to see and gain first-hand experience of the private sector, and to become acquainted with the part which commerce and industry play in the economic life of the country.

The training in the two Academies is imparted through lectures, seminars, small-group supervision classes, essays, and intensive private reading. For the Seminars which form a particularly important feature of training, each probationer has to prepare a paper once a fortnight on a subject out of a selected list drawn up with reference to the programmes on each subject, and this forms the basis to initiate discussion by the whole class.⁴ Both Academies use the lecture and seminar methods, and do not rely on formal lectures alone. Senior officers of the government who are practical experts in their own spheres are also invited to deliver lectures on their particular subjects. They also utilise the services of U. N. and International Co-operation

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1. Information supplied by the Director of the Finance Services Academy.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

Administration experts to give courses of lectures on social sciences and personnel management.¹ The E. N. A. in France also uses the Seminar or Conference methods in the second year, and these have proved effective not only in the intellectual training of the probationers but also in making them understand administrative problems realistically. Professor Andre Bertrand describes the seminar or conference method as the 'key-stone' of the system of training at the National School of Administration.²

The Police Training College.

The young recruits to the Police Service of Pakistan are on training for a period of not less than two years. They receive a year's training at the Police Training College at Sardah in East Pakistan.³ The Principal who is the head of the College is a senior police officer, and is assisted by three other members of the staff. At the College the probationers are given instruction in Criminal Law, Medical jurisprudence, languages, equitation, and the scientific investigation of crimes. They are also to undergo physical training like drill and riding. Extra mural activities fostering the qualities of leadership are also arranged. At the end of their training they are required to pass an examination in these subjects conducted by the Federal Public Service Commission. During the second year of their training they

1. Information supplied by the Director of the Civil Service Academy.

2. A. Bertrand: "The Recruitment & Training of Higher Civil Servants in the United Kingdom & France", in the Civil Service in Britain & France, edited by Professor Robson, W. A., 1956, p. 181

On the methods of imparting training to administration followed in different countries, see Public Administration (The University Teaching of Social Sciences) by A. Molitov under the auspices of UNESCO, 1959, p. 86-114.

3. Careers in the Pakistan Central Superior Services, 1954. *op. cit.* p. 8-9

spend a period with a military unit for training. They are also required to spend a part of this period in selected district headquarters for practical training in various aspects of police work. On the satisfactory conclusion of their training they are confirmed and appointed as assistant superintendents of police. During this period they are to pass a number of departmental examinations. The purpose of these examinations is to test their grasp of practical work and of laws. Gradually, they are given higher and more responsible assignments.

The Foreign Service of Pakistan.

The recruits to the Foreign Service of Pakistan are required to undergo a period of training for two years but it may be extended beyond that period in special cases.¹ The selected candidates are sent abroad for studies at approved institutions for a year and a half. Usually they are sent to the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy,² U. S. A. At this School they study international law, diplomatic history and practice, and learn French. They are also to learn one other foreign language. At the end of this period, they come back to Pakistan, and are given practical training in government procedure in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Commonwealth Relations. During this period they are also sent on a study tour of East and West Pakistan according as they belong to East or West Pakistan. This enables them to acquire intimate knowledge of the area of the country which is not the place of their birth. During their stay in Karachi they are required to satisfy the Board of Examiners of the Ministry of Defence in French. It is also necessary for them to pass an examination in international law and diplomatic history and practice. They are also eligible for a book allowance of rupees three hundred for the purchase of essential books. The normal period of training is two years, but it may be extended in special cases.³

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1. Careers in the Pakistan Central Superior Services, op. cit. 1954, p. 7
 2. The writer of this article is of the view that efforts should be made to establish a similar institution in Pakistan.
 3. Careers in the Pakistan Central Superior Services, 1954, p. 7.

Central Secretariat Training Institute.

The entrants to the Central Secretariat Service¹ are trained in the Central Secretariat Training Institute. It was brought into existence in 1956. It is under the general control & management of the Establishment Division of the President's Secretariat. The Institute is headed by a director who is assisted by three deputy directors.² The Institute offers instructions & refresher courses to superintendents & assistants in Secretariat procedure & practice, office administration, drafting, recording & indexing government servants' conduct rules, & other conditions of service, budget & accounts. In certain subjects the trainees are given practical exercises. Lectures are given by the staff & senior Government officers & Professors on different problems such as supervisory training, man-management, personnel administration statistics, organisation & methods in the Secretariat. Experts from different private firms are also invited to deliver lectures on various aspects of office work & procedure. Arrangements are also made to enable the trainees to visit places of interest in Pakistan. It is likely to widen their outlook. It also enables them to acquire first-hand knowledge of some of the development schemes in operation in Pakistan. The Institute also makes use of the documentary cinematograph shows through the courtesy of the British Information Service to demonstrate to the trainees how greater efficiency & higher output can be achieved in clerical operations by employing the techniques of method study.³ The training in the Institute lasts for three months. The courses are not compulsory. The various ministries & departments of the Government are expected to get there superintendents & assistants trained.

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1. It covers the cadre of the superintendents & Assistants in the Secretariat. Recently, this category of civil servants has been replaced by the section officer, under the section officer scheme.
 2. Information supplied by the Director of the Secretariat Training Institute.
 3. Brochures issued by the Institute, 1959,

Review of the Training system.

We may now review critically some of the important features of the existing training arrangements for the training of the civil servants, particularly at the higher levels, in Pakistan. In the first place, there is the system of institutional training which, in the case of the C. S. P. officers, also includes a year's academic study in the Universities of Oxford & Cambridge. The question now is whether institutional training is at all necessary to supplement practical training on the job. The advocates of institutional training argue that it is essential for the members of the Central Superior Service for a number of reasons. First, the pre-entry university education of most of the recruits to these services is deficient in many respects.¹ Institutional training, they think, is, therefore, necessary to widen the interest & broaden the outlook of the prospective higher Civil Servants and to deepen their knowledge of the social significance of the activities of the government in general and of their jobs in particular. Such knowledge, of the social, economic and political background of their work, if properly organised and adequately imparted, may remove largely the deficiencies of present-day university education and enable recruitment to be made in adequate numbers without detriment to the efficiency of administration. It would also add to administrative competence and enable the officers to perform their duties properly and effectively. But a critic might point out that the curriculum which is confined mainly to law and languages in the Civil Service Academy, although a knowledge of these subjects is necessary for the C. S. P. officers, is not adequate enough for this purpose. A change in the course of study (which is discussed below) seems to be necessary. Secondly, the advocates of institutional training point out that the two Academies aim at developing in their students the essential qualities of objectivity, precision, accuracy and breadth of view. Commenting on the Civil Service Academy at Lahore, Professor Andre Bertrand said, "Thanks to the hostels and the

1. See the Reports & pamphlets issued by the Federal Public Service Commission, Government of Pakistan.

communal life led by the students and staff, the Director of the Academy (at present an Englishman, formerly a member of the Indian Civil Service) and his deputy, are able at any moment, in informal conversation, to develop in these young Civil Servants a sense of public service, to dwell on the essential qualities of objectivity and integrity they will have to display, and to place them on their guard against the dangers and temptations with which they may be assailed later in their career. In our view, this aspect of the training given at Lahore is, perhaps, the most important of all".¹ Another foreign observer, Professor R. Braibanti, observed, "The Civil Service Academy, created in 1948, seeks to continue the finest traditions of the Indian Civil Service: the development of character, a sense of dedication and service to the state, and impartial, efficient administration".² These qualities are, as already stated, some of the important objectives of training. It is only proper that the training institutions should make adequate efforts to develop these qualities in their students. A critic might say that these are the qualities best fostered by higher education. The supporters of the institutional training would point out that most of the university products are also deficient in these respects. Hence the training must be related to the nature of the incoming products. Moreover, the members of the C. S. P., in particular, apart from receiving nine months' instruction at the Academy, and five months' practical training in East Pakistan, also attend a full year's academic course in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Moreover, the two Academies, they hold, are residential. The probationers and the staff live together. This brings

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1. A. Bertrand. "The Civil Service Academy of Lahore & The Training of Members of the Civil Service of Pakistan", in the International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1955, p. 266
 2. R. Braibanti, "The Civil Service of Pakistan, A Theoretical Analysis" in The South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. LVIII, No. 2, 1959. p. 280

the probationers into direct daily contact with the Directors and other members of the staff and this might enable them to mould and influence the conduct and behaviour of the young officers, to a great extent, by the examples of their own life, conduct, character and personality. This communal mode of living is also likely to develop a corporate spirit among them. Nevertheless, it seems that it would be perhaps much better and even wiser to make more adequate arrangements and more intensified efforts, as are done in the E. N. A. during the second year of the French higher Civil Servants, to develop these highly desirable qualities in the Civil Servants of Pakistan. The period of training in the Academies may be extended to one year more, for a fuller and more comprehensive intellectual training. Again institutional training of this type may be followed by adequate 'follow-up inquiries' to assess whether it has succeeded in enabling the Civil Servants to acquire these qualities. It is doubtful whether a well-designed system of "follow-up inquiries" exists in Pakistan. We think that this system should be set up if training is to be effective. In the third place, it is argued that institutional training will also provide the young Civil servants with a systematic introduction to his actual job before he actually embarks upon it. It will be helpful to him in two ways. First, it will enable him to learn his job quickly. Senior officers now-a days are too busy to have enough time and energy to train the young officers thoroughly. Therefore, properly organised institutional training will initiate him into the mysteries and technicalities of modern administration which is growing increasingly complex. Second, systematic introduction to his job and the machinery of government and administration aids him to understand the significance of over-all co-ordination in governmental activities. It may also be helpful in bringing about greater willing and intelligent co-operation among the Civil Servants themselves.

The opponents of the institutional training argue that it may result in the doctrination of the probationers and in inbreeding. The political party in power may use the training institutes for propagating its own ideology and programmes. It is, therefore, likely to threaten the political neutrality of Civil

Servants. So far, there is no evidence to entertain this fear in Pakistan. The institutional training is too short and too much of it is devoted to law, language and economics to provide time for any undesirable indoctrination. Well-informed critics point out that it is doubtful whether thought is sufficiently sophisticated for any fear of it to exist in Pakistan. Instead of fostering in-breeding, the right type of institutional training can be directed to broaden their outlook. The opponents further point out that it involves unnecessary waste of time and money. The probationers have already spent a number years in academic institutions, schools, colleges and universities, and do not require any more schooling. Hence, to spend a year or two in instructions before practical training will be unnecessary and wasteful. In Britain such a point of view is held by several distinguished administrators. They think that with their good general educational background, the Civil Servants can be relied on to learn on their own the theory and technique of public administration. Sir Edward Bridges (now Lord Bridges) for instance, is of the view that the traditional method of learning by doing the job, under the supervision of the right type of senior officers, is an invaluable way of training the Civil Servants. Emulation of senior Civil Servants, not going through a process of class-room tuition is the proper way to get training for a career in the Civil Service. "But for my part I believe that many of the best oarsmen learned a great deal from the mere fact of rowing in a good crew behind a really good oarsman, for the good style and the good rhythm proved as catching as measles", said Lord Bridges.¹ But this view is being challenged in Britain, in spite of the very high order of university education. Professor Robson, for example, emphasises the necessity of institutional training. "The time has come when a Central Training School for the administrative, professional and scientific, and perhaps the technical and executive classes, should be established".²

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1. Sir E. Bridges : "Administration : What is it ? How can it be learnt ? in *The Making of an Administrator*, edited A. Dunsire, 1956, p. 23
 2. Robson, W. A. "Recent Trends in Public Administration", in

In Pakistan the institutional training must continue for the higher services in which it already exists, and in our view, should be extended to cover other categories of higher and middle level Civil Servants.

Another important question which needs to be discussed in this connection is whether training should be imparted by the departmental academies or by the universities. The opponents of departmental institutions argue that these institutions are likely to produce inbreeding. There is no living contact between the probationers and the outside world. They live in a world of their own, cut off from the mainstreams of thought and life in the country. If they are to receive their instruction in a university, they will breathe in a stimulating and intellectually invigorating atmosphere. "I think it is a great error of judgment to segregate officials from the rest of the population," said the later Professor Laski.¹ Secondly, the standards of such institutions cannot be continually "reviewed by being tested in the light of external criterion".² The authorities of departmental institutions might often suffer from complacency and may not be readily persuaded to introduce changes in the course of study and methods of teaching. Thirdly, the teachers whose activities are confined to the teaching of Civil Servants in departmental institutions "would tend to become narrow in their interests and limited in their vision".³ Professor Laski made a vigorous plea that the probationers should be trained initially not in a staff College but in a University because "What gives its salt to University life is the width of the horizons it has to scan, the variety in the outlook of its teachers, the need, in its students, to test the values at which they have provisionally arrived against other values born of contact with a different experience,

The Civil Service in Britain & France, edited by Robson, 1956, p. 58

1. Laski, H. J. "The Education of the Civil Servants" in "Public Administration," (I. I. P. A.) vol. XX, 1943, p. 19
2. Ibid
3. Ibid

or a different discipline".¹ Mr. Greaves also thinks that the preliminary instruction of the probationers "ought to be in a University institution, or closely connected with one, partly because of the need which the Committee (Assheton Committee) recognised for highly developed library facilities, and partly for the atmosphere and community of scholarship there best to be found".² Fourthly, a departmental academy, they point out, is unlikely to have adequate library facilities and other useful equipments which a university can afford.

The advocates of the departmental academies point out that the training of the Civil Service probationers in a University cannot be useful. Firstly, in universities the emphasis is more on the abstract than on the concrete and they deal with political science, public administration, economics, sociology, social psychology and other social sciences from the wider angles of theory and principle. The probationers, therefore, are unlikely to learn much to be of practical value in their subsequent careers when they are to grapple with the stark realities of social, economic, political and administrative problems. Universities may be able to arrange courses in public administration or in other specified subjects, but "their remoteness from the actual processes of Civil Service Administration would narrowly limit their usefulness."³ A realistic study of public administration and an effective insight into the techniques and methods of administration require that instructors should be senior officers well-versed in the practicalities of administration and not mere scholars. The persons who are fully competent to train others in the techniques of their tasks are obviously those engaged in them, or who have become conversant with them through their own personal experience. The services of senior

1. Ibid.

2. Greaves, H. R. G. *The Civil Service in the Changing State*, 1947, p. 74

3. Report of the Committee on the Training of Civil Servants, Cmd. 6525, 1944, p. 27

officers can be used in departmental academies more adequately, as universities do not normally appoint them. Moreover, in Pakistan, universities are not so well-developed and well-equipped as in Britain and other advanced countries, and the departmental academies exist precisely because the university product is not quite satisfactory.

There appears to be some elements of truth in both the viewpoints. The training arrangement for the young members of the C. S. P. strikes a balance between training at the departmental academy and study at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. This enables the probationers to derive the benefit of both types of training. The universities are more eminently fit to offer education on liberal administrative culture than to impart mere training. We think that this arrangement can with great advantage be extended to the other Central Superior Services. But the main difficulty is the shortage of foreign exchanges.

At present there appears to be hardly any co-operation and co-ordination between the academies and institutions in Pakistan. There are certain physical difficulties in the way of effective co-ordination as some institutions are in West Pakistan and some in East Pakistan. But even between the two most important institutions at Lahore—the Civil Service Academy and the Finance Service Academy—there seems to be no co-operation and co-ordination. “Although located only a few miles apart, the academies conduct no joint classes in subjects taught at both institutions, and there is little social contact between the two groups of probationers or the faculties”² This is by no means a satisfactory state of affairs.

There seems to be a need at least to re-organise the two academies at Lahore in a manner in which can also be adapted some distinguishing features of the organisation of the

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1. Recently, the Government of Pakistan have decided not to send the young C. S. P. probationers to Oxford and Cambridge. It does not appear to be a sound policy to the writer of this article. It seems that it would add to the quality of the C. S. P. if they are sent abroad at this stage.
 2. Braibanti, R. P. 1959, P. 283

Ecole Nationale d' Administration in France. At this stage, it may be of some interest to discuss the distinctive features of the organisation of the E. N. A. The E. N. A. is managed by a Director and an Executive Council, and not by any department. The director and members of the Executive Council are all nominated by the decree of the Council of Ministers. The Executive Council consists of fifteen members: one-third of them are drawn from the civil servants, one-third from the university professors, one-third from among persons of some distinction in the country.¹ There is, thus, a variety of opinion in the Executive Council which lays down the general principles on the basis of which the E. N. A. is to be run. The Council watches its progress and development. The Director enjoys a high status and distinction as he is directly nominated by the Council of Ministers. He can be dismissed by the Government but only on a proposal from the Executive Council which has to assign reasons for this purpose.² His position is stronger than that of the Director of either of the Academies in Pakistan, who is always a high-ranking Civil Servant holding the post for a number of years. He can be removed at any time by the department concerned.

The Director of the E.N.A. can take the initiative in re-organising the School in any way he likes, subject to the general approval of the Executive Council. Teaching in the E. N. A. is not undertaken by any member of the staff. The Director determines how the whole courses shall be given, and proposes the names of persons to give them. The E. N. A. draws on outside experience. Its annual list of lecturers includes senior officers, university professors, directors of nationalised industries and people with special competence.³ There is thus an "extreme diversity of opinions, origins and positions" among the members

1. T. Feyzioglu : "The Reforms of the French High Civil Service", part I in 'Public Administration' (J. R. I. P. A.) Vol. XXXIII, 1955, p. 85

2. Ibid.

3. Chapman B. The Profession of Government, 1959, p. 119

of the school's staff. This militates against 'a danger of bias and indoctrination'.¹

The departmental academies and institutions, particularly the two academies at Lahore can be amalgamated into a single academy. It will serve a number of purposes. First, it will go a long way in breaking down the psychological barriers between the members of the C. S. P. and other Central Superior Services. "The Academies reflect the exaggerated independence of the parts of the public services".² The C. S. P. officers think that they are superior to Audit and Accounts officers, who in turn think that they are superior to the other members of the Central Superior Services. This clannishness is injurious to the over-all co-ordination so necessary in administration. If the probationers from the various services spend a year or two in a common institution, it is likely to develop esprit d' corps among them and may make it easier for them to look upon each other as partners in a common enterprise. But we think that the psychological barrier between the various services can be removed more effectively, if all the non-technical central superior services are integrated into a single unified Civil Service³ on the British pattern. The members of a single Civil Service can be trained in the manner in which the Civil Servants are trained in the E. N. A. in France. They will receive common instruction in subjects common to them all and then courses can be specially designed as in the E. N. A. for the needs of individual divisions and branches.⁴ Secondly, the proposed amalgamation will increase the teaching resources of the academy. The teaching staff of the academy need not be confined to the Civil Servants. It should include, in our opinion, university professors and

1. A. Bertrand, *op. cit.*

2. Braibanti, R. "The Civil Service of Pakistan, A Theoretical Analysis" in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. LVIII. No. 2, 1959, p. 283

3. M. A. Chaudhuri: "The organisation & composition of the central Civil Service in Pakistan" in the *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 26, 1960, No. 3.

4. Chapman, B. *op. cit.*, p. 117-118

competent men from both the public and private enterprises. The university professors may deal with subjects of general nature and the senior officers and others may deal with courses of instruction having direct bearing on the work of the Civil Servants. This will augment the teaching resources of the academy and is likely to be an antidote to possible inbreeding and indoctrination as there will be diversity of opinions and views in the academy. Thirdly, the library facilities in the two academies are very inadequate. 'Neither Academy has a significant research library'.¹ This is highly unsatisfactory. The consolidation of the two academies into one will mean a bigger library and more adequate equipment. We suggest that more efforts should be made to build up adequate libraries. Fourth, the management of the academies should not be left to the departments as at present, but should be dealt with by an Executive Council representing the important sectors of opinion on the French model. The Executive Council should consist of senior officers, university professors, and distinguished members of the public, to be nominated by the Government. Fifth, the structure of the system of training in Pakistan has some similarities with the French system, but it is heavily compressed in Pakistan at present. We think that the period of training can be extended from two years to three years, and the academies will then be able to pay more attention to the teaching of general administrative subjects.

As regards what may be called the 'knowledge' aspects of training, courses of study for the various categories of Civil Servants, particularly the members of the Central Superior Services need to be re-examined. At the Civil Service Academy, the C. S. P. probationers are given instruction in revenue laws, criminal law, civil law, Bengali and Urdu, Islamic studies, and the Constitution of Pakistan.² Adequate knowledge of revenue laws is essential for the members of the C. S. P., who are entrusted immediately on appointment with the collection and administration of revenue. A study of criminal law and procedure is also

1. Braibanti, R. *op. cit.* 285

2. The Constitution of Pakistan was abrogated in 1958

necessary as they are also invested with magisterial powers over their fellow citizens, and it enables the administrators to function properly as the guardians of law and order. Knowledge of Bengali and Urdu—the two state languages of Pakistan—is necessary for all officers and particularly for the C. S. P. officers who are bound to serve anywhere in the country. Urdu is the dominant language in West Pakistan and hence the C. S. P. officers who come from East Pakistan, where Bengali is the only language spoken by the people, must learn Urdu. Similarly, the C. S. P. officers who come from West Pakistan must learn Bengali. This is essential for the efficient administration in Pakistan that the C. S. P. officers who come into close contact with the people in both the wings of the country must know the language of the people. Islamic studies may be an excellent subject for general education but it does not appear to be quite relevant to the tasks of the future administrators. The emphasis at the Civil Service Academy at present is on law and language. Too much time is devoted to these subjects and there is little time or room for other subjects. In this respect, the syllabus for the C.S.P. officers is more or less similar to that for the I.C.S. officers in the past, when the main functions of the government were confined to the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order. But after partition and independence, there is a major and significant shift of emphasis in government policies and activities from regulating the life of the people to positive actions for promoting their welfare. The kind of training suitable to a regulatory state, a critic might argue, may not serve the purposes of a positive state. Collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order are important functions, no doubt, but much more important, significant and essential today, are the increasingly complex functions of the government in social and economic fields. The implementation of successive five year plans will continue to increase the responsibilities of administration in these fields. It is, therefore, essential that the training of the future administrators must be related to the purposes and functions of the government. The courses of study should be changed and designed accordingly. A tinkering with the syllabus is not at all enough. A new temper has to be instilled in to it. To suppose that minor

and surface changes in the curriculum, suited for the nineteenth-century state are likely to suffice for the needs of to-day is to court disaster. The administrators must display better and deeper understanding and appreciation of the interplay of social, political and economic factors and forces in the country. Width of perspective and a clear understanding of the dynamics of social change are more important than a mere description of legal powers and responsibilities. As already stated, the study of law alone is quite unlikely to broaden the outlook of the civil servants and to deepen their understanding of the socio-economic forces in a modern society. From this point of view the present syllabus followed at the Civil Service Academy is extremely limited and thoroughly inadequate.

The inclusion of public administration, general and applied economics, political science, and sociology seems to be necessary. No detailed study of these subjects is perhaps necessary, but a brief review of the fundamentals with reference to the conditions and needs in Pakistan is likely to enable the general administrators to have a boarder outlook, and perception, and a better and livelier appreciation and deeper understanding of the working of the variety of socio-economic forces in the country. This has been stressed by some eminent scholars in Britain. Professor Robson says, "I believe, however, that the Social Sciences can be of unique value in assisting a Civil Servant to understand the social, economic and political background of his working environment".¹ Mr. Greaves also puts similar emphasis on the importance of social sciences in any scheme of training for the Civil Servants.² The course at the Civil Service Academy, the Planning Board hold, should give a comprehensive background of the entire range of activities of the service in an integrated manner. "The course should include the principles methods of public administration, with special emphasis on planning and development and social

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1. The Civil Service In Britain & France, edited by Robson, W. A. 1956, p. 58
 2. Greaves, H. R. C. Civil Service in the Changing State, 1947, p. 54-55

welfare activities and liberal instruction in the social sciences necessary for the new type of administrator, such as economics, sociology, social psychology, and political science.¹

We think that the following subjects should be included in the syllabus of the two academies. Modern government is so intimately concerned with the economic life of the people that a thorough knowledge of the principles of economics has become a necessary tool in the equipment of every responsible administrator. Economics should, therefore, be added to the syllabus for the recruits to the C. S. P. also. Care needs to be taken in the teaching of this subject to stress the practical application of economic principles with special reference to the conditions in Pakistan and the implementation of the five years plans. The importance of political science is undoubted. The administrators must have adequate knowledge of the phenomena of the state and government—nature, meaning, purposes. They need to have a thorough knowledge of the political process. The importance of public administration, its principles, methods and techniques cannot be over-emphasised. It is bound to find a place in the scheme of training for all the recruits to the various service. Initial basic knowledge of the principles and techniques of public administration will increase the chances of success and minimise the risk of errors. At the same time the probationers must also acquire a thorough knowledge of the machinery of government at the center, in the provinces and at district level, and organisation, functions, purposes, and procedures of the various departments and operating agencies. Comprehensive stress should be laid on district administration. The district is the real primary unit of administration in Pakistan. A thorough grounding in all aspects of district administration is essential. It should also include lectures on the administrative history of Pakistan tracing the evolution of the present day institutions and administrative practices. A course on sociology and psychology appears to be necessary to enable the

1. Government of Pakistan. Planning Board. The First Five Year Plan. 1955-60 Vol. 1, 1955, p. 124

trainees to have a better understanding of the sociological and psychological forces and factors operating in society. The great expansion of international organisations since the end of the second world war has affected the work of several departments of the government. Pakistan is a member of U. N., its allied agencies and various other international bodies. Delegations consisting of officers and public men are always sent to participate in the work of these bodies. The officers are quite likely to play an intelligent role if they have a thorough knowledge of the purposes, organisation and functions of U. N., its allied agencies and other international bodies. It seems necessary that a brief study of the international organisation should be included in the courses of studies for the generalist administrators. Statistics is another important subject which needs to be included in the syllabus for all the higher Civil Servants. In Britain, the Assheton Committee emphasising the importance of statistics, said, "The course should include some training in methods of preparing and presenting statistics and the logical principles underlying their interpretation. Government policy must often be largely based upon statistical evidence and there is scope here for some training in a subject which is of vital importance to the efficiency of the service".¹ This view of the Committee appears to have a universal validity. Training in statistics is necessary for the administrators in Pakistan.

The courses of study in the Finance Services Academy show some improvements. These include, as already noted, economics, public finance, public administration, International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and book-keeping. This is a welcome step. The inclusion of these subjects is not enough. The inclusion of sociology and political science appears to be called for in order to make the administrators fully conscious of the operation of socio-economic forces in the country. Again, the absence of the principles of audit and accounts, and financial rules and regulations seems to constitute a serious gap. Courses given on these subjects will help the recruits to pick up their jobs quickly and

1. Cmd. 6525 of 1944, p. 28

efficiently. Not much is done to teach the members of the Finance Services the real purpose of the financial system in a modern state. Complaints are often heard about the rigid and unimaginative adherence on the part of accounts officers to financial rules. Training, in our opinion, should be directed to remedy this shortcoming.

The training arrangements and the courses of study for the members of the Police Service of Pakistan—an all-Pakistan service—are defective and inadequate in many important respects. The P. S. P. probationers receive instructions, as already stated, in criminal law, principles and methods of scientific crime investigation, medical jurisprudence, etc. All these subjects relate to their future work. But the standard of legal education that is imparted in the Police Training College is utterly inadequate whereas a sound knowledge of criminal laws and procedures is essential for the P. S. P. officers. Instruction in law is given by two Deputy Superintendents of Police, but none of them has been even a graduate in law. “As regards the instructors in law, the Principal pointed out that there were two Deputy Superintendents of Police as Law Instructors for the P. S. P. officers; but we were told that neither of them was a graduate in Law” observed the Report of the East Bengal Police Committee in 1953.¹ This is thoroughly unsatisfactory. This should be removed. The Committee also suggested that the standard of legal education should be improved. The Committee pointed out that courses on the principles of criminal law and law of evidence must be delivered by practitioners having wide experience of criminal law. The Committee also suggested that the probationers should be allowed to attend a special course in law in the University of Rajshahi.² The Police Training College is also located in Rajshahi in East Pakistan. We think that the suggestion of the Committee in regard to the teaching of law should be implemented without delay. Recently some steps are taken in this direction. Secondly, instruction in accounts is also very defective and unhealthy. “With regard to

1. Report of the East Bengal Police Committee, 1953, p. 42

2. Ibid, p. 39

lectures on accounts, we were surprised to learn that the instruction on this subject was given by the head clerk of the College, who was paid an honorarium of Rs. 10 per month. As large sums of money pass through the hands of a Superintendent of Police, good training in accounts is quite essential, and we are unable to appreciate why such an extraordinary course as to make the head clerk lecture on accounts is being adopted," observed the Committee.¹ This is, indeed, a shocking surprise. The Committee thought that an experienced police officer of the gazetted rank, who is considered good in accounts, should be appointed to deliver lectures in this important subject.² The removal of this gross defect cannot brook any delay. Thirdly, the library of the College has been too inadequate and defective. Commenting on the library, the Committee said, "During our visit to this Institution, we were surprised to find that there was no library worth the name, and this deficiency was particularly noticeable in the branch of legal education. The very fact that no law journal was being subscribed for, indicates how no importance was attached to the legal part of the training of the police. There are books written by retired police officers as guides in police work and there are also books on various branches of police work published in this sub-continent as well as in England. These should be bought so that the probationers can study them with great advantage."³ It is impossible to think of a training college without an adequate library. We think the suggestion of the Committee should be implemented without delay. Fourthly, the present site of the College is located in Sardah which is far away from Dacca, the provincial metropolis. It has a few disadvantages. It is not possible to secure the services of lawyers with wide criminal practice to give instruction on the principles of law. Owing to the inaccessibility of the place, very few Ministers, high-ranking officers and foreign experts have visited the College or are able to do so. Again, the trainees are cut off from the rest of society

1. Ibid, p. 42

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 41

and they cannot come into contact with the people whom they are intended to serve. To quote the words of the Committee, "The result is that trainees are thrown entirely on the society of their own class and they do not come into contact with the public to serve whom they are all intended."¹ The Committee, therefore, suggested that the College should be located in a place very near to the provincial capital. The advantage of the College being near Dacca is that the trainees, the Committee held, can be brought into the city on occasions when they can, by practical experience, learn how to handle crowds and also see for themselves how the officers who have already been trained and are in service discharge their duties towards the public. Another advantage which the College will derive from its proximity to Dacca is that professors of the University, judges of the High Court, high ranking officials and distinguished foreign visitors can be requested to come and meet the trainees and such contacts and particularly talks from such persons will be very valuable indeed.² We think that the suggestion of the Committee is an important one and that it deserves serious consideration.

Apart from these serious defects as stated above, it seems that nothing much is done to stimulate the members of the P. S. P. to see and view their work in the wider setting of a modern society. There are complaints about the behaviour of police officers towards the members of the public. Perhaps it may be partly attributed to the absence of correct and inspired lead on the part of the higher police officers. We are of the opinion that the imparting of the knowledge of the social significance of police work to these officers could prove helpful in giving them a proper perspective. Officers of the right type of outlook would not fail to exert their influence to make the police organisation behave in a proper way towards the commoner. Courses on public administration, political science, sociology and social psychology might be of great value in this respect. The Report of the East Bengal Police Committee made another good suggestion when they said, "One thing important for policeman, whatever his rank may be, is

1. Ibid

2. Ibid

of observation and for an officer in particular, the power of sizing up the persons with whom he deals is quite necessary. But no special training seems to be given in this direction. We suggest an expert on psychology and psychiatry being appointed on the staff of the College."¹ In our mind, this suggestion deserves consideration.

The logical outcome of the inclusion of more and new subjects in the syllabus for the recruits to the various Central Superior Services will involve increase in the period of training and additional cost. We think that the time and expenditure will be more than compensated by an increase in the efficiency, ability and responsiveness of the higher Civil Servants at all levels.

There is much room for improvement, in its effectiveness, in the practical training of the C. S. P. officers in Pakistan. Young officers need to be guided, supervised and controlled more effectively than is the case today. The Chief Secretary of the provincial government should take personal interest in the matter. They are placed in charge of Collectors or Deputy Commissioners who are themselves young or too busy to pay any adequate attention to the training of the young officers under them. The importance of training in the first stages of an officer's career can hardly be over-stressed. A great deal depends on the senior officer, the Collector under whom the young C. S. P. officers begin their work. The training is not only in procedure and methods, its scope covers the whole of official life and conduct. It must help the officer to realise fully his duties and responsibilities, as well as his position of trust and honour as a public servant. Utmost care should be taken to select the right type of collectors to guide and supervise the training of the young C. S. P. officers. The collectors should be persons young in spirit, so as to be as near as possible to their pupils in outlook and they ought to be chosen primarily for their keenness and sympathy. They must be persons who could mould fresh, impressionable material to the proper shape and inspire them with love for the traditions and ideals of the service. They should be able to look upon the pupils

1. Ibid, p. 47-42

as junior members of the same family who would in the fulness of time not only be required to assume the heavy burdens of administration, but to whom they would have themselves to pass on the reins.¹

The practical training of the other higher Civil Servants should also be more effective. There should be a proper integration of theoretical and practical training - theory to facilitate the grasp of the practical work and practical work to enrich and widen the understanding of the former. Senior Civil Servants with whom the probationers are to be understudies should be selected with great care and they should be good guides and sympathetic friends. The Establishment Divisions within departments should be well-staffed so that besides attending to other duties, they can adequately and effectively supervise the practical training schemes.

The training arrangements for the members of the Ministerial services need careful consideration. At present the Secretariat Training Institute runs refresher courses for the superintendents and assistants under the Central Government. The course is not compulsory and as a result there is a fall in the number of trainees.² We think that the course should be made compulsory. There is as yet no centralised training arrangement for the clerical staff, although adequate training arrangements for them seem to be urgent and essential. "A general opinion shared by a great majority of senior officers of the Government of Pakistan is that efficiency amongst clerical staff has deteriorated considerably and something must be done to remedy this state of affairs".³ One of the various factors responsible for this is the absence of post-entry training for the clerical staff.⁴ In their second interim report the Committee strongly emphasised the need of systematic training for the

1. Report on Public Administration by A. Gorwala, 1953, p. 62

2. Information supplied by the Director of the Secretariat Training Institute.

3. Government of Pakistan, Report of the Committee, 1950, *op. cit.* p. 3

4. *Ibid.*

clerks.¹ We fully endorse the view of the Committee and think that adequate arrangements should be made in this respect without delay. The post-entry training of the staff should follow practical lines and should be in relation to the actual task to be performed by them. It should also give the recruits a background of the organisation of the Central Government, and particularly of the ministry or department to which they are allotted. Again, a brief introduction to a course on good public relations will be of great use to them. The common people come more into direct contact with lower Civil Servants. The common man's impression of the whole Civil Service is likely to be governed by the way they are treated by the lower Civil Servants. Hence, some instruction in good public relations is essential. It is not often unusual to find lower Civil Servants behaving shabbily and arrogantly towards common men. This is partly attributable to the lack of effectiveness and breadth of training. Adequate attention should also be given to this aspect.

In-Service Training

The training of the Civil Servants is a continuous process. Initial training should be followed by a carefully devised in-service training. The importance of further education cannot be over-emphasised. It goes beyond the training for the immediate job. It looks towards the broadening of the field of interests and the intellectual horizons of the Civil Servants. It is justified on the ground that the broader-gauged the officers become, the more valuable they will be to the service. There must be continuous incentive in the Civil Service for its members to improve their equipment and to keep themselves abreast of the developments in the world. With many of them, because of the pressure of normal work, it is difficult for them to keep in touch with their interests and a sense of intellectual arteriosclerosis develops. "The subject matter of the work becomes more complicated as modern society itself becomes more complex; and in addition, growing knowledge of the technique of administration requires them to undertake new studies and to develop new talents in the

1. Ibid, Second interim report, 1951, p. 3

organisation and management of their departments and branches".¹ They should be encouraged to keep their interest alive and to acquire new qualifications which will be of value directly or indirectly to their work. "The Civil Service is a profession, and I should like it to become and realise itself as a learned profession", said Sir (now Lord) W. Beveridge.² There are different types of in-service training and these should be used for the further education of all categories of Civil Servants in Pakistan.

In-service training implies that the departments should try to keep their employees well-informed about various activities inside and outside the departments having relevance to the broadening of their minds. It should be a standing practice to furnish the staff with such information as possible about the work of the office, its purpose and its progress. The Assheton Committee in Britain emphasised the utility of this background training and suggested various methods by which it can be achieved—weekly discussion, talks by managers, periodical statement of policy by management, house journals, well-stocked library, exhibition of appropriate films, visits to other branches and sub-departments, oral discussion and circulation of bulletins.³ In Pakistan such background training is still in an under-developed stage. Very few departments make comprehensive use of the various devices to provide for it. We think that the Government of Pakistan should emulate the British example in this respect.

The diversification of the work entrusted to a Civil Servant is yet another form of in-service training. It may take various forms such as the mobility of the Civil Servants from one type of work to another, from one department to another, from one branch to another within the same department and

1. Report of the Committee (Chorley) On the Remuneration of Higher Civil Servants, para 22.

2. The Development of the Civil Service, p. 242.

3. Report of the Committee on the Training of Civil Servants, Cmd. 6225. 1944, p. 15

from headquarters to the out-stations.¹ This system of the rotation of officers is a distinctive feature of the C. S. P. in Pakistan as it was in the case of its predecessor, the I. C. S. in British India. This is also true of the I. A. S. officers in India. The members of the C. S. P. move from one department to another, from one type of job to another, from the centre to the provinces, from the provinces to the districts and from administrative work to executive work on a tenure basis.² When a member of the C. S. P. comes to the Secretariat—central or provincial—from field work in the districts, he brings freshness of outlook, born of administrative experience, to the Service. Experience in the field brings administration to life. Moreover, the C. S. P. in Pakistan like the I. A. S. in India is a multi-purpose service, the members of which are to hold varied duties and functions. It is based on the assumption that a man of proved general competence is regarded as eligible to fill the general requirements of most posts under the government. Such a course, therefore, is of great advantage to them. It widens experience, breaks rigidity and monotony and imparts freshness, flexibility and vitality to the service. For many types of work nothing trains better than a variety of experiences. A corps of officers of high calibre, containing within itself rich, diversified and varied experience, will be available for the varied and changing needs of government. Commenting on this with regard to the I. A. S. in India, P. Appleby thinks that India would do well to apply this valuable experience of the I. A. S. to other services as much as possible.³ In India some selected officers of the Central Secretariat are attached

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1. Report of the Committee on the Training of Civil Servants, Cmd. 6525, 1944, p. 13—14.
 2. M. A. Chaudhuri : "The Organisation and Composition of the Central Civil Services in Pakistan" in the International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol. XXVI, No. 13, 1960.
 3. Appleby, P. : Public Administration in India. Report of a Survey 1953

to districts for one year, and this enables them to acquire some experience of district administration and appreciation of problems which arise in the field in the execution of plans and programmes.¹ We think that this practice should be extended to other Central Superior Services in Pakistan. It would be quite helpful if this planned movement of officers from one job to another and from the centre to provinces is preceded by brief and appropriate re-orientation courses.

In Britain, the members of the Administrative Class in the early years of their careers are moved from division to division and from branch to branch at regular intervals. An officer of this class is to work for six months in a local office if his Ministry has a regional or local network.² There should be more planned inter-change of officers between central and local governments. The importance of the transfer of officers between the centre and the circumference cannot be denied. It widens their experience. The officers will have more opportunities for appreciating more readily the impact of action at the centre upon local government and upon the general public.

Various reports, committees and distinguished scholars have pointed out the necessity of mobility from one department to another. The authors of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report themselves realised the importance of transferring from one department to another "so that each man may have an opportunity of making himself master of the whole of the business before being called upon in due course to take a leading position."³ The National Whitley Council Re-organisation of 1920 said, "Men and women so recruited (as Assistant principals) should be regarded as cadet corps from which selection should be made to higher administrative posts, and members of this corps should be treated,

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1. Chanda, A: Indian Administration, 1958, p. 110
 2. Hubback, D: "The Treasury's Role in Civil Service Training," in Public Administration, (J. R. I. P. A.) Vol. XXXV, 1957 p. 102
 3. Papers On the Re-organisation of the Permanent Civil Service, p. p. 1854 p. XX.

so far as practicable, as a body available for service in any department in which administrative class is employed.”¹ Expressing the same view, but in a rather cautious tone, the Assheton Committee said, “Where they can take place they are undoubtedly beneficial in increasing an officer’s adaptability. In normal times such movement is unusual ; we believe however, that the service as a whole would derive advantage if departmental barriers could be less rigid so as to permit more fluidity of staff.”² Stressing the importance of inter-departmental transfer of officers, Professor Robson has said that “a deliberate effort should be made to see that at least the higher and middle Civil Servants obtain experience in a number of different departments, instead of the matter being left largely to chance, as at present. Apart from war-time, it is surprising how often one meets Civil Servants who have served 20 years or more in one department. This cannot be to the public advantage, or favourable to a unified Civil Service.”³ In such inter-departmental transfer of officers, the “connecting link” between their posts should be visible, otherwise their public usefulness may be reduced rather than increased. The “linked experience”, he rightly says, would add to the usefulness of Civil Servants.⁴ This is a valuable suggestion which deserves serious consideration both in Britain and Pakistan. To facilitate this he makes a suggestion. He says, “One course would be to group departments into such categories as those dealing with economic matters, social services, defence, overseas countries, etc., and to arrange for Civil Servants to circulate among the departments comprising the group to which they belong.”⁵ He is also in favour

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1. Report of the Joint Committee On the Organisation of the Civil Service, 1920, para. 46.
 2. Report of the Committee on the Training of Civil Servant. Cmd 6525 1944 p. 14
 3. Robson, W. A. : “Recent Trends in Public Administration” in *The Civil Service in Britain & France*, edited by Robson. W. A. 1956, p. 59
 4. Ibid
 5. Ibid

of interchange between groups when some degree of relevance can be attained in the particular appointments.¹ Summing up the whole position he says that "more regard should be paid than at present to the idea of increasing the Civil Servant's usefulness by extending his relevant experience—the emphasis is on relevant" We fully endorse the view of Professor Robson.

The use of refresher courses, conferences, group discussions and highly specialised courses is another type of in-service training. This can be employed for the training and development of supervisors and comparatively young generalist and specialist Civil Servants for higher administrative responsibilities. In Pakistan no systematic efforts have so far been made by the various Ministries and departments of the Central Government to provide specialised courses and to arrange residential conferences for the young generalist and specialist Civil Servants. The Central Secretariat Training Institute offers a few refresher courses for the members of the Central Secretariat Service. Refresher courses for the C. S. P. and other higher services are yet to be organised on any systematic basis.

If we look at Britain, we find that significant developments have taken place and important innovations have been made in this field during the post-war years. Britain has been a pioneer in this direction as in many others. Increasing efforts are made to institute specialised courses, refresher courses and conferences. The Treasury has been arranging residential conferences at both the assistant Secretary and Principal level for the discussion of management and organisation problems.² These

1. Ibid

2. For detailed discussion of this form of training for higher administrators in Britain, see (a) 'Training of the Technician in Administration Practices' by S. A. Bailey in *Public Administration* (Vol. XXXIII, 1955), (b) 'The Treasury's Role in Civil Service Training' by Hubback, D. in *Public Administration* (Vol. XXXV, 1957), (c) *Public Service Training in the Past Decade*, by Tickner in *Public Administration* (Vol. XXXIV, 1956), (d) 'Training & Education in Post

conferences last for eight days and are attended by scientists, engineers, architects and administrators of assistant Secretary and equivalent rank. This kind of group discussion among Civil Servants of varied and different backgrounds results in a good deal of cross-fertilisation of ideas. They have an opportunity of exchanging ideas with colleagues of equal rank in different departments. The specialist officers get a proper idea and perspective about management and the general administrators have an informal opportunity to have some idea of matters of a technical nature. The success of this experiment has encouraged the Treasury to go further in the field. A new series of one-week conferences for principals and equivalent executive, scientific and technical officers have been started by the Treasury.¹ Apart from these, the Treasury also runs a number of special central courses.²

The various departments of the Government are arranging an increasing number of courses of one kind and another for their employees of various levels and categories.³ The Ministry of Supply, for instance, hold conferences for various classes of technicians and these aim at initiating their senior officers into the esoterics of the organisation of the Ministry. The General Post Office, in addition to their residential management training centre, have residential courses for three weeks for the training of technologists in management and administrative problems.⁴

The grant of sabbatical leave to pursue an approved course or to undertake a task of research either at home or abroad, is another significant device to enable the Civil Servants to refresh their minds and to prepare themselves for higher positions in administration requiring wider knowledge, varied experience

Office' by Greenland, J. V. In Public Administration (Vol. XXV, 1957).

1. Hubback, D. Op. cit. p. 106
2. Ibid
3. S. A. Bailey, op. cit. p. 381
4. Ibid

and highly developed capacities. In British India furlough and study leave were available for some categories of higher Civil Servants. The Planning Board have recommended its revival in Pakistan. "The formal practice of granting officers study leave to go abroad for further study, which seems to have fallen into desuetude, should be revived. The modern state does not need only men and women mechanically efficient in their jobs ; it also needs people with advanced learning in various subjects, including the humanities and Social Sciences."¹ The Board also recommend that there should be more frequent deputation of senior officers to the Administrative Staff College at Henley.² They should also be sent on study tours to advanced countries like Britain, U. S., France, and Germany to make a comparative study of public administration which will enable them better to appreciate the problem in Pakistan.³ The Assheton Committee in Britain have strongly recommended that selected officers should be given the opportunity to travel abroad to study aspects of government or public administration, which is likely to be of great value. It will be stimulating and provide a safeguard against insularity.⁴ So far as study tour is concerned, things are improving in Pakistan. Under the Colombo Plan, U. N. Technical Schemes, agreement with International Co-operation Administration, a number of Civil Servants go abroad for advance teaching in different aspects of administration. Recently, under a contract with the I. C. A. the University of South California has started a special course for training a batch of fifteen to twenty senior officers from Pakistan in U. S. methods and techniques of public administration. The purpose is to prepare the trainees for assuming higher administrative responsibilities on return to Pakistan.⁵ In Pakistan, Universities are not well-developed and well-equipped for the

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1. Government of Pakistan. Planning Board. The First Five Year Plan. 1955-60, Vol. I. 1956, p. 127
 2. Ibid.
 3. Cmd. 6525, of 1944, p. 32
 4. Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1958, p. 106
 5. Planning Board, *op. cit.* p. 127

higher Civil Servants to spend a spell of time in research or specialised study. Most Universities do not have any well-organised department of public administration. Reference libraries in almost all the Universities are not satisfactory. The Planning Board recommended that the Universities be encouraged to start courses in Public Administration.¹

There is as yet no institute of public administration like the Royal Institute of Public Administration in Britain. The Planning Board have recommended the setting up of such an institution.² The general objective of the institute will be to improve the functioning and operation of the public administration, to conduct, propose and support research and surveys on administrative problems, and to organise exchange of views and proposal with regard to the solution of these problems. "In order to stimulate interest in public administration as a subject of study and research in political, administrative, professional and academic circles, it will be necessary to establish a subsidised but autonomous Institute of Public Administration. Its scope should include business administration. It should publish a journal, hold seminars and conference, encourage research by the Universities, maintain liason with similar institutes abroad and with Universities interested in the subject, obtain literature from them, and have a circulating library and a reading room."³ We endorse the view of the Planning Board.

In Britain increasing attention is paid to sabbatical leave and travel abroad for Civil Servants. In one year about 50 Civil Servants of the rank of assistant Secretary and Principal and equivalent ranks among the scientists have spells of sabbatical leave ranging from three to twelve months. Out of these, 18 attend the Administrative Staff College at Henley, 12 go to the Imperial Defence College, 4 to the Joint Staffs College, and

1. Planning Board, *op. cit.* p, 127.

2. Ibid

3. Ibid, p. 126-127. Recently an Institute of Public Administration has been set up at Dacca, one at London & another at Karachi.

2 to the NATO Defence College in Paris.¹ Universities are also generous in awarding research fellowships to Civil Servants. The Nuffield College appoints Civil Servants to Gwilyn Gibbon Fellowship, Manchester University to Simon Fellowship, and L.S.E. to Webb Fellowship. The Commonwealth Fund offers three fellowships to administrators and two for scientists in each year to visit the U. S. A. There are King George VI fellowships for young scientists to study in the U. S. A.²

Administrative Staff College.

An immense gap in the arrangement for the training for higher administration in Pakistan is the absence of an Administrative Staff College to provide regular courses in public administration or particular aspects of it to officers at intermediate levels of higher services. This gap, the Planning Board hold, should be filled up immediately.³

Such an institution can usefully serve industry & business also, which in Pakistan suffer greatly from the lack of administrative skill.⁴ India set up an Administrative Staff College on the principles and model of the Administrative Staff College at Henley in Britain. In Australia a similar institution was set up in 1957.

It may be of interest in this connexion to discuss some of the distinguishing features of the Administrative Staff College at Henley. The College was opened at Henley in 1946. The main purposes of the College are not primarily to extend or impart knowledge, but cultivate administrative skill & talents

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1. Hubback, D. "The Treasury's Role in Civil Service Training", in Public Administration (R. I. P. A) Vol. XXXIV, 1957, p, 104
 2. Ibid, p. 104-5
 3. Planning Board, op. cit. p. 126
 4. The Government of Pakistan set up an administrative staff College at Lahore in 1960. The College is patterned on the principles & methods of the College at Henley in Britain, For fuller information, & treatment, see the writer's article in the Pakistan Observer, Dacca, October 27, 1960.

and to develop an awareness in the trainees which will help them to tackle their own jobs with a broader vision and deeper understanding. The training programme is therefore so designed as to encourage the participants to think about and develop skills which a senior administrator needs; the ability to see clearly an objective; the skill to plan, to delegate and control work and to mobilise the knowledge and abilities of others to achieve that objective; the skill to handle a management team involving co-operation with colleagues—often more experienced than himself; capacity to make decisions as intelligently as possible in the time and with the resources available; and finally to understand the complex inter-relationships of a modern community, which involves appreciating the distinctive points of view and abilities of those who are working in other fields and learning from their experiences.”¹ The College provides a new approach to the training in administrative leadership. Its members are drawn from industry, commerce and government on the belief that problems of administration in these different spheres have common features which call for constructive skill and technique of leadership, policy-making and planning which are not simply gifts of nature. Training helps and is necessary.

The College is managed by an independent Board of Governors who in turn employ the Principal. The Governors are drawn from different walks of life. The College is free from political economic and social bias.² The College is financed by private funds from business institutions and individuals and fees paid by the employers on behalf of their members.³

The main parts of the course are comparative administrative

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1. Adams, J. W. L : “Henley and Hyderabad” in *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. No. 1, 1958 p. 67-68.
 2. Dimock, M. E. : “The Administrative Staff College : Executive Development in Government and Industry” in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. L. No. 1, 1956, p. 169.
 3. Ibid.

structures, internal organisation and administration, external relations, constructive administration, and conclusions.¹

The College holds three sessions in each year, and each session lasts for twelve weeks. Each session is attended by a group of sixty persons nominated by their respective employers and approved by the College. Out of 60, 6 are from the Civil Service, 6 from banking and insurance companies, 6 from overseas, 36 from the broad field of industry and commerce, and the rest from the local Government and armed forces. The ages of the members vary from 34 to 43 and the underlying idea is that the members are to be persons of some maturity yet at a stage of development when they are adaptable. These 60 persons of diverse educational backgrounds and varied experiences are divided into six groups of ten each. Each group or syndicate works under one of its members as a chairman and with another as secretary. Each group is assisted in its work by a Directing staff of the College. Each syndicate holds discussion on select topics of administration and is to submit a report embodying the views of its members. Issues arising from the reports of the various syndicates are discussed in the College as a whole. The College also arranges for the benefit of members background lectures, appropriate reading materials, discussions with distinguished visitors and visits to factories, government departments and other places of interest.

Thus, an effort is made by the College through group or syndicate methods of self-instruction "to widen their horizons, to help them to clarify their thinking, and to give them also some experience of handling issues which are above the² present responsibilities." The College seeks to accelerate the "maturing

1. For details see Dimock, *op. cit.*, p. 173. See also N. F. Hall : "The Administrative Staff College in Progress", Vol 41, No. 227, 1950. An article in the Times, London, December 27, 1950. See also Public Administration (The University teaching of Social Sciences) by A. Molitor (UNESCO), 1958. (p. 173-175 ; 105-106 ; p. 77-78)
2. D. K. Clarke, C. B. E. "Educating the Administrators" in *The Making of an Administrator*, ed. by A. Dunsire. 1956, p. 29.

process" of its members for higher administrative responsibilities.¹ Professor Dimock says, "the most interesting experiment in the world today for the student of comparative administration and business and government is the Administrative Staff College at Henley-on-Thames, England."² The College is pioneering with imagination and boldness a significant method towards the mastery of the art of governing men. It is perhaps too early to make any systematic evaluation of this famous institution. Nevertheless, it has won an international reputation for its work.

Further education of the members of the Ministerial Services.

Every effort should be made to facilitate the further education of the members of the ministerial Services. The various ministries and departments should encourage their staff to acquire external qualifications having vocational value to improve their skill and efficiency. These may be, for instance, in accountancy for those engaged in accounting work, and in statistics for those whose job it is to handle them. Again, further education may be of a cultural and academic kind. Anything that tends to broaden the mind, to make a better, more complete, more harmonious individual, tends to make a better Civil Servant. In Pakistan not much attention is given to it. The Central Government should approach the various academic institutions in Karachi, Dacca and Lahore and in other places to explore the possibility of making arrangements for the education of their staff. They should offer financial aid and time concession to their employees for this purpose. The Committee appointed by the Government of Pakistan to review the organisation, structure and level of expenditure of the various departments of government in their first interim report suggested that government should support the growth of schools and institutions which would impart training to matriculates in typing, stenography, commercial correspondence and book-keeping as there is a dearth of

1. Ibid, see also F. J. Tickner : Modern Staff Training. (1952) p. 145-153.

2. Dimock, M. E. "The Administrative Staff College" in the American Political Science Review, Vol. L. No. 1, 1956, p. 166

such institutions in Pakistan.¹ The Government, in their view, should not hesitate to set up model schools of this type in the country.² We agree with the Committee in this respect.

Significant developments in this respect have taken place in Britain during the post-war years after the publication of the report of the Assheton Committee, and these should provide enough food for thought and action in Pakistan. The Committee recommended that the departments should aid the staff to study by giving reasonable time off and by paying fees in appropriate cases.³ Departments are making extensive use of technical colleges and universities for vocational training and technical education for their staff by giving time off and paying fees in appropriate cases. The Treasury, the National Whitley Council and the Civil Service Council for further education, are taking active interest in providing opportunities for further education and stimulating the staff to take advantage of them. The members of the staff are associated with the policies and programmes formulated by the Treasury and Departments. The Report of the Assheton Committee which has aroused considerable interest in this respect constitutes a landmark in the history of the British Civil Service. There is room for improvement in this field. Mr. Hubback thinks that a new committee should be set up to appraise what has been done in the past, to devise ways and means to improve training methods, and to ascertain whether better or more training is necessary.⁴

The Government of Pakistan should set up machinery for the co-ordination and Central direction of all the training

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1. Government of Pakistan. Interim Report of the Committee appointed to review the organisation, structure and level of expenditure of various Ministries, Departments, and offices of the Government of Pakistan, 1956, p. 3.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Cmd. 6525 of 1944, p. 13.
 4. Hubback, D. "The Treasury's role in Civil Service Training" in Public Administration (J. R. I. P.A.) Vol. XXXV, 1956, p. 109

schemes.¹ This can be achieved by adopting as an experimental measure the practices and procedures followed by the British Treasury. The Treasury has a Division called the Training and Education Division. It offers central guidance and co-ordination of all the training schemes worked out on a departmental basis according to the needs of the different departments. The Establishment Division in the Ministry of the Interior in Pakistan, which deals with the Civil Service matters should have a wing or branch to deal with the training of Civil Servants.²

We think that the time is ripe for a comprehensive and searching enquiry into the training arrangements for the various categories of Civil Servants Pakistan.

1. The authors of the Second Five Year Plan said, "An administrative Training Council is to be created to ensure co-ordination of the various administrative training programmes, and to advise on future planning. "Second Five Year Plan, 1960." p. 117. Such a body has been set up recently.

2. Government of Pakistan. Second Interim Report of the Committee appointed to review the organisation, structure and level of expenditure of various Ministries, Departments and Offices of the Government of Pakistan, 1951, p. 6-7.

THE DIMENSIONS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN EAST PAKISTAN Cornelis op't Land

Part I—*Introductory*

“The country where the farmer suffers can not prosper.” This is a saying current in the Netherlands, a country where nowadays only 15 percent of the gainfully employed are engaged in agriculture or dairying. Nevertheless no Dutchman doubts the truth of it. The same saying, when applied to East Pakistan, would appear so obviously true as to sound almost irrelevant. For here we do not find 15 but over 85 percent who derive their living from cultivation. Under such circumstances it is not surprising to see that so much attention and energy is devoted to the improvement of the rural conditions and the agricultural efficiency of the farmers. The essential preliminary to all such development work is scrupulous assessment of the actual situation. This will allow us to take into account the local circumstances and estimate the resources of money, manpower and materials when we begin our planning. We will in addition want a detailed description of the situation the development program is going to bring about. When we know the situation at the beginning and the final one, a program of action can be designed that will gradually change the former into the latter. We can set a time schedule and calculate in advance how much of everything is needed in the subsequent phases. Preparations can be anticipated to have available the wanted quantities at the required time and place. Unfortunately the world over one can find assistance programmes that were launched with the best of intentions, but fell short of their objectives because of deficient planning. Planning not unfrequently takes more time than the realization of the project. And indeed the excuse of “unforeseen difficulties”, which “nobody could have thought of” is often abused to save the face of sloppy planners or hasty authorities.

The Pakistan Academy for Village Development appears well aware of the dangers of insufficient preparation. True to its charter it does not only impart technical instruction to its future extension workers, but it also devotes a considerable proportion of its time, funds and energy to research. The several aspects of rural life and traditional agriculture prior to the implementation of development projects are studied as well as the results of the technological innovations introduced by those projects. Moreover on experimental plots new techniques are tried out and tested on their applicability in the conditions that prevail in East Pakistan. Of these research activities the Academy accounts in two series of publications, a Technical and a Non-Technical one. These reports make always interesting reading and it was with much pleasure indeed that we reviewed one of them in "Social Research in East Pakistan", edited by Dr. P. Bessaignet and published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan. Now about one year later the Academy sends us another report, which seems of direct interest to social scientists, both for its method and conclusions.¹ Its subjects are the historical changes in the man-land relations that exist in one of the many East Pakistan villages. The village is Dhanishwar in Comilla district. The report covers many aspects of socio-economic life and seems to aim at finding workable solutions for problems of rural reconstruction and the improvement of farm efficiency.

In this, the report has not been too successful, because the data are seen and interpreted in the light of the rationale that underlies the programs of rural development. It is our contention that these programs tend to underestimate the dimensions of the task ahead—at least in its practical consequences. The philosophy of the extension projects is often summed up in this slogan: "Help the people to help themselves," which

1 Qadir, S. A. "*Village Dhanishar*", three generations of man-land adjustment in an East-Pakistan village". (Pakistan Academy for Village Development, Comilla. Technical Publication No. 5, Comilla November 1960, pp. X-126 App. I-VII).

slogan is interpreted as to instruct people to use and tap the local sources more efficiently. There would be nothing to warn against if this practice were a minor aspect of a larger, more comprehensive program. This is, as the writer has reason to fear, not the case and to demonstrate this point we will follow Mr. Qadir in his discourse and leave him where we think he does not take the right path. It will require from us the tedious task of reappraising his findings and not unfrequently to rearrange the whole evidence. This we gladly do in appreciation of the more tedious work the author had taken to his burden and the merits his report nevertheless has. We can not discuss all the aspects of village life the author has studied and about which he has noteworthy things to say. We must refer the reader to the report itself, assuring him that he will find this time his pains rewarded. He will certainly find it interesting and particularly stimulating where it opens many perspectives on fields for future social research. Its reading is for these reasons highly recommended and is considered a must for all those who take an active interest in the progress of the Social Sciences in East Pakistan.

However, the reader will find that the same is nevertheless difficult. As the title shows the subject is "man-land adjustment over three generations," a subject which afforded the author the stimulation to probe into many aspects of village life. These are not all of relevance to our discussion and therefore only a sketchy outline of that part of the contents which is of interest to us may be given before we resume our own theme.

The introduction and the first chapter give a very readable exposition of the enquiry's organization and of the main characteristics of land-use and land-rights as they have become fixed by custom, guided by legislation. With the help of existing documents, records and archives the adjustive developments in the man-land relations are followed up to the present. Thus we are convincingly informed about the origins of the present situation. Then the report goes unfortunately astray in an intricate manipulation of figures, numbers and correlations. We find correlations between holdings per family (either *de facto* or *de jure*) and the age of the head of the family, between holding size and literacy ;

between literacy and family size : a so-called "offspring index" is calculated as well a "land-fragmentation-index." Besides these we find numerous data on land-value, land-use, opinions about several related topics (government's agricultural policy, education, joint family, zaminder system etc.) One can hardly imagine the amount of work all this must have cost the investigator. However, all these hard-gotten data are put to little use. Many of them have no function at all in the exposition and in the end they fail to impress upon us the extent of misery in which the people live. Therefore we are not able to fathom the amount of energy, the nature and dimensions of the help that is needed to afford a way out for the small group. The obvious reason is that the writer lacked a coherent vision on his subject. Over-confidence in statistical manipulations appears to have taken the place of a well-defined research problem, towards the solution of which his fact finding enterprise could have been diverted. Now he appears to have gone off in all directions without knowing what is significant and what not. The result not surprisingly is an unintegrated mass of (interesting) data put at the disposal of the reader, who more or less is invited to help himself. As it is the report demonstrates quite aptly how statistical procedures - however skilful - remain mere puzzling when not guided by scientific discipline. The reason why the study lacks coherence and gets lost in a tangle of information without finding the way out, must be sought in a definite lack of sociological theoretical insight. This prevented the author to construct a sociological analysis of village life. He lacked the means capable of coordinating his efforts. It is a pity that the expert advice has been wanting in this respect. Social research, when called upon to assist in the preparation of programs of social reconstruction, should aim, we think, at finding a number of clear-cut recommendations and assessments. In this case when the dynamic process of man-land adjustment is selected for an inquiry the investigator should have shown himself aware of the circumstance that this process does not terminate in the present but will go on as long as people live. He should have analysed the process through its

different phases, found out about the sources of its main trends and where these would probably lead to, if allowed to go unchecked. Then the policy maker can decide whether they led to desirable or unacceptable results and design operations intended to deflect the tendencies towards new and more desirable goals. That is the way social research can be of constructive help. The report, however, in spite of all efforts, can give not more than a few vague and partial suggestion (p. 122-23), upon which it will be hard to construct a program that may bring welfare to Dhanishwar. Neither does the report afford us a general outline of the conditions in that village so that its needs cannot be estimated unless by extensive recalculation. Nevertheless about that little place a wealth of information is given, some of which may be paraphrased below.

The village of Dhanishwar. There is its small historical "depth". Although the people claim to be descendants of "Pathans" who came there in the thirteenth century, and although there are "documents, to show that a tank was excavated in the 16th century" (p. 44.), the remembrance of the past has quickly faded away into legend. Even names of ancestors appear to be forgotten. The genealogies give with reliability some five generations only, allowing us to go back to *-1800. This is, at second thought, small wonder. Until the advent of the British the region had been a kind of no-man's land where Muslim and Hindu lords had fought each other's claims (p. 43). Political instability was paralleled by social and economical inconstancy. "The general picture of the Tippera District until the middle of the nineteenth century is signified by the nomadic nature of the people..." says the writer, quoting a contemporaneous source (p. 46). At that period there was still land in abundance. Nowadays there is hardly any land left that is not brought under the plough. Nevertheless the population is still characterized by a certain mobility, by a willingness to try its luck elsewhere, as is made clear by the recorded genealogies, which show emigrants in almost every generation. The outward movement even intensified after 1944 (p. 47). This corroborates what we found elsewhere in East Pakistan, when collecting genealogies and family-histories. It seems—but this view needs further substantiation—that a high

mobility characterises the rural population of East Pakistan. Once recognized this mobility poses an interesting problem into which the present report wisely does not enter. One might venture the question whether what appears true about Dhanishwar has some general validity. Dhanishwar seems to be an average village without any remarkable feature that would put it in a class of its own. The reasons why it was selected have nothing special. It happened to be situated close to the writer's research basis ; the Academy. It was not big, only 77 families with in total 426 individuals and with an area of 158, 50 acres (p. 39) ; which makes it almost the researcher's ideal community. To be sure, there were a few historical records that allow for some diachronic perspective. These records, however, cover almost the whole district and not only Dhanishwar. Similar records exist probably of almost all other parts of East Pakistan. Again we can see nothing exceptionable in this. It does not surprise therefore that we find much in the report that can also be observed elsewhere. Even to such an extent that some readers may exclaim, the publication contains nothing new !

Rural mobility ; In mentioning the problem of rural mobility, Mr. Qadir opens an interesting field for further research, as it most probably will yield new insights into the character of the settlement process of East Pakistan by Muslim immigrants. An appreciation of the true nature of this process will also help us to understand better present-day rural social organisation. The former has certainly greatly influenced the latter. This mobility has also its psychological aspects. As the present writer's observations tend to indicate, people appear very much aware of the original homes of their ancestors. This is also true for Dhanishwar village, where descendency from Pathans is claimed, though the proper names of the ancestors are not well remembered. Such a mobility—an already mentioned source even accuses the local population of "nomadism" !—could hardly occur if there existed strong affectional ties to the paternal soil and village. Evidently a rational attitude towards inherited land and the village community prevails. The latter means probably little to the individual and we may refer to the report where it discusses the issues of

cooperative spirit, social cohesion and local leadership (p. 119-120) This rational attitude may be real and people may have little affectionate consideration. On the other hand, people living under subminimal conditions will sometimes have to consume their little investments which were meant for production, to meet the first emergency that arises. If that view is more adequate rural mobility can be taken as an indication of helpless poverty. The degree, nature and motives of this type of mobility constitute another field for urgent social research. We must allow too for differences between the rural mobility in the past and in the present. It seems that the historical settlement process came to a halt about the middle of the last century. Yet, in some remote corners of the country the settling or colonizing process continues and can be studied on the spot today. I may mention the Khulna district and Bakerganj along the fringes of the Sunderbunds. It occurs throughout the province where new 'char'-land is occupied. We find it in Sylhet and Chittagong Hill-tracts where tribal land is gradually invaded. The colonization process was never a spectacular process with whole hordes of people on the move. No, apparently the people did not trek long distances and neither in large groups. As can be deduced from what goes on nowadays, people moved individually or family-wise and over relatively short distances only. This colonization process does not differ basically from a shifting cultivation economy. Only, the farmer did not always return on his original plot thus closing a multi-annual cycle. He (or his sons) moved slowly on, in the main eastward, when the urge was felt. Political circumstances or natural calamities retarded or speeded up the process as the case might have been. The settlers might have stayed in the same place, even for generations. We also should not forget that the best parts of the country were already occupied by people of which in many districts the legendary names are preserved. The nature of the described movement was and is one of interpenetration by which Muslim Bengali spread out between the existing settlements, many of which belonged to Hindu Bengali. Nowadays there are little or no open spaces left, the hunt for arable land goes off in all directions. People now move where they seem fit.

For historical and sociological reasons it is really to be regretted that this whole process has escaped systematic study so far.

Character of villages : We may expect that such a study will explain much of the typical character of the East Pakistan villages, especially the Muslim ones. Their observed lack of social cohesion (see report p. 119), authority and leadership may find their explanation in the individualistic, unorganized form the invasion assumed. Let us further note that such primarily Muslim regions like Noakhali show a very dispersed settlement pattern. There villages often lack altogether as one can clearly see from the air when flying between Dacca and Chittagong. The whole country-side is studded with isolated farmsteads, each one on its own mound, with its own tank. Permanent community foci are scarce and an integrated system of communications is absent. This pattern would arise spontaneously where leadership nor feelings of belonging together weld the people into communities. It would be worth while to investigate the role the physical conditions have played in bringing about the prevailing situation.

As a matter of fact, Dhanishwar lacks both leadership and social cohesion and Mr. Qadir notes sorrily that this makes all upliftment work difficult, because the spirit of cooperation is absent too (p. 119-122). His view is corroborated by three phenomena. The village has no communal grounds nor maintains public constructions. Secondly, an enormous increase of plough and bullocks has occurred between 1899 and 1960 (p. 47) which is not necessitated by a similar expansion of the cultivated area. A third indication is the obvious impossibility of maintaining the joint family though it is the traditional ideal and still favoured by 70% of the people (p. 101.)

The value of landed property : Recently the migratory movements have adapted new directions. New lands are not the chief target anymore but jobs. Consequently mobility focusses now on townships and a process of urbanization has been started. It has taken the people some time to adjust mentally. The author indicates how the present phase of emigration from the village with the goal of finding jobs has been preceded by one of

reorientation. Gradually people came to attach less prestige to a large acreage of owned land and more to the occupation of clerical jobs (p. 51-52). Some have not made a pronounced choice. They work in town but live in the village where they also have their own plot of land. Ambiguity is, however, shown by the habit of investing surplus capital in land and not in the fortification of their non-agricultural occupation (p. 120). The practice is not fired by the desire to return to agriculture once when enough land has been acquired to guarantee sufficient income. For, as we all know, a tendency prevails to despise farming, echoing faintly perhaps the mentality of the nomadic non-agricultural desert-dwelling Arab. A good many people believe (and they will say so) that agriculture is "bad for their health". In Dhanishwar they will say it is beneath their dignity or even bad for the crops (p. 53-54). It is only gratifying to note that a younger generation shows a surprisingly different attitude (p. 95) in comparison with their parents (p. 97). Still the dream of the people is to be once an owner of land and to live comfortably from the rent, as petty landlords, aloof of all labour. Who would blame them when other ways to obtain social security are unreliable or sorrily lacking; when their ambitions are patterned on the way of life as was led by the upper classes they knew? Why blame them if their first and only desire is to be redeemed from the never pausing flood of worries, troubles, debts, diseases and disasters that mark their daily life? Does it surprise that the people with their small range of experience look at land with covetous eyes? However, the aversion to agricultural labour—that even turns farmers into bad, negligent farmers (p. 36-37)—combined with the desire to possess landed property does not promote the decrease of population-pressure on the land.

The traditional inclination to invest one's savings in land and to live from the revenue has created an artificial landhunger which has sent the landprices soaring. Through over-evaluation land-rents, and by implication production costs, have become forbiddingly high (as witness the crop-share that goes to the landowner in the barga-contract). The traditional inclination to live as petty landlords has made the non-productive part of the

total population grow out of proportion. The source must be found in the absence of social security and other possibilities for investment.

Education is regarded as another means by which one's grip on land can be strengthened and the income derived from non-agricultural pursuits are again used to expand the landed property (p. 120). It stands to reason that the more educated will be most successful in this respect, because they are better qualified for the better paid jobs (p. 52). There are, indeed, as the author relates us, about 13 matriculates and one graduate in the village (p. 62). What are they doing there and in what way is their superior knowledge made good use of in the village? This would indeed make another interesting subject for social research. But let us return to our subject. The inflatory tendency created by the heavy demand for landed property is reinforced by the steady growth of the population. Over-evaluation, mortgaging and fragmentation step up production costs and reduce yield; the profit margin of the cultivator dwindles. There is thus a process of pauperization going on. The report states that the average family holding had come down from 4.48 acres in 1894 to 1.95 acres in 1960 (p. 62). We know that a couple of families have been able to increase their owned acreage. The conclusion follows that the poor families have become poorer still. Living on the brink of starvation they have no reserves to cope with emergencies. Coming these they will have to sell or mortgage their plot of land. In due course these destitutes will drift to the towns because the village has not sufficient means to sustain them (compare p. 41).

The economic condition of the Dhanishwar people is worse than one would conclude from the given figures. A detrimental factor undeniably has been Partition. The village lays about five miles from the new border. Formerly people derived additional income from their cattle that used to graze in the nearby Tripura Hills for several months of the year. There are in the village no grazing grounds (p. 78). Income from this source must have decreased appreciably (p. 122). Neither do the people enjoy any more the extra benefits of having firewood, thatch and bamboo just for the taking. In pre-partition days they could

also make some profit by collecting such forest produce and sell it in the market of Comilla. We could in addition mention the influence of post-war inflation, which has increased the prices of agricultural products less than of non-agricultural ones. In some cases these latter have become more costly as a result of measures to protect the young industry of Pakistan. The economic condition of Dhanishwar has deteriorated. How bad conditions really are is a matter of calculation. Let us see how the report comes to an estimate.

Economic condition of Dhanishwar: The report tries to gain an insight by calculating the minimum requirements for the whole population first and then estimates the productivity of the available resources. The difference between the two outcomes would be an indication for the existing state of welfare.

The first figure was quickly found. The author asked several people what acreage they deem necessary for the maintenance of 4 adults. The answer was, "roughly $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of average double-cropped land". These were taken to yield approximately 100 maunds of paddy of which are consumed 40 and 60 are used to defray all other necessities throughout the year.¹ This would mean that an adult was thought to have sufficient means to live "moderately contentedly" when he had 10 maunds to eat and 15 maunds to sell. Now, the total population is 426. Of these are 136 under the age of 12 and two of them are taken as to eat and need as much as one adult. They are on that basis equalled to 68 adults and the whole population to 358 adults (p. 59-60). The total present population would therefore annually eat $10 \times 358 = 3150$ maunds and have to sell $15 \times 358 = 5370$ maunds of paddy for other necessities. This makes together 8950 maunds as a minimum requirement.

The figure on actual productivity derives "from the total yield of paddy obtained in a normal year from all the lands

1. Including land-rent, zakat, contributions to maintenance of the local mosque, depreciation and replacement of equipment, medical treatment, schooling for children, support to dependants, legal assistance in litigation issues, etc.

owned by Dhanishwar people." These would yield, on an average in total 5200 maunds. The total deficiency would therefore be $8950 - 5200 = 3750$ maunds.

Mr. Qadir, however, comes to a deficiency of 1595 maunds only, which having a marketing value Rs. 16.—per maund make for each one of the 77 families an annual budgetary deficit of Rs. 331. The author comes to this too low figure by an awkward mistake. Instead of assessing the needed quantities for the actual population, he takes the acreage of cultivated land. The latter, he says, exists in 118 double-cropped and 16 acres single-cropped. Assuming that the yield of single-cropped land is 75 % of double-cropped, we may equal the total available acreage at 130 acres $(= 118 + \frac{1}{4} \times 16)$.¹

But when 4 adults need $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres to live by, a population of 358 would need $\frac{1}{4} \times 358 \times 2\frac{1}{2} = 223.75$ acres. One acre yields 40 maunds. Here again we reach the figure of 8950 as needed total for the maintenance of the population. The messing up of figures for the population and the cultivated area (or owned—the report is vague here) has caused the difference to occur.

Accepting the present calculation as correct, we come preliminarily to a budgetary annual deficiency per family of 4 adults of 48.7 maunds at Rs. 16.—making Rs. 779. 20. This is more

I. We find in the report also the following estimates :

total cultivated land, excluding *viti* is $118 + 16 = 134$ acres (p. 60)

total cultivated land, including *viti* (10 acres) = 150. 53 acres (table 5)

total cultivated land = 141.78 acres (p. 67)

total cultivated area 122 acres *nal* + 10 acres *viti* = 132 acres (table 9)

total area under cultivation = 132 acres (p. 76)

Another inconsistency : on page 41 the number of heads of households with farming as main occupation is stated to be sixty, on p. 57 the number is, however, 65.

than twice as much !¹. Having corrected the estimate so far we might as well probe into the other assumptions on which it has been founded. Of these the report says (p. 60) : "The above calculation is based on the hypothetical assumption that the families are dependent solely on land and there is no other source of income. However, income drawn from other sources such as service, trade, etc. is not likely (why not ?—op't L.) to be so high as to totally cover up the deficiency. But let us begin with having a closer look at the people's idea that 2½ acre is sufficient. We note that the estimate is not detailed. We are not informed about the various items that make up the annual family budget. Any one of these items may be underrated and several may actually have been forgotten. We suspect that no informant had thought of making reservations to meet an emergency, like illness, death, marriage, natural calamities, crop failure, replacement of worn-out equipment or dead cattle, house-repairs, etc. It is exactly this type of short-sighted budgeteering that annually plunges families in the dismallest of circumstances. The calculated minimum budget has for this consideration the appearance of being a sub-minimal one, since it does not provide a possibility to keep out of debt. And indeed several families are in debt. The whole calculation as prescribed in the report has an unrealistic flavour especially because it does not consider indebtedness. But, and that is the next question, does the farmer really get Rs. 16.—for his maund of paddy ? We fear not and it is Mr. Qadir himself who hands us the arguments why this seems improbable. On page 80 he presents a calculation which shows that the production costs of 16 maunds are Rs. 82. We cannot accept this figure unconditionally because some of its components are not real expenditures. Much of the work is done by the farmer himself. Let us assume that he has to buy seed only. It is stated that this amounts to Rs. 30.—to achieve a harvest of 16 maunds. Let us further assume that

1. -What Mr. Qadir really had calculated is the produced surplus of paddy not needed for human consumption in the village. It would be interesting to know how much of the surplus 1595 maunds is needed for seed (or to buy seed) and

he has his own bullocks and plough and has therefore no expenditure for ploughing but he will use the straw for his bullocks. We are thus justified to deduct Rs. 2. from Rs. 16. as the actual market price. The farmer will at best get Rs. 14. for his maund and the family budget will actually be Rs. 200. deeper down in the red than the indicated Rs. 779. 20.

Fortunately the picture cannot be as gloomy as that. For one thing Mr. Qadir's assumption that families have no other income than rice-cultivation appears quite unrealistic, he himself informing us that 32 heads of families out of 77 expressly said that they derive additional income from other sources (p. 41). Not all families suffer so deeply as we have sketched. There are 16 families out of 77 that possess more land than the accepted minimum (table 7, p. 65). On the other hand there are 12 who have no land at all. Let us note that the report has unjustifiedly treated the families undifferentiatedly in this respect. We have the writer's word that some families live above the assumed minimum. Their brightening influence on the overall picture does not blindfold our eyes that there must be families whose poor conditions defy imagination.

Let us stop the further analysis of the report. It will lead us away from the main point, and make us miss it just as the present Dhanishwar study has missed it.

The actual situation : The issue, as we see it, is this : In Dhanishwar are 426 people or 358 "standardized" adults. To local estimates some 223.75 acres double-cropped land would be sufficient to feed them. Since 3% of the area is lost to plot-boundaries or "ails" (p. 84) the total needed is slightly larger and would rise to 230.46 acres. According to page 76 there is only 132 acres under cultivation, of which 110 double-cropped. Since single-cropped land produces about 75% of double-cropped, we may assume that Dhanishwar encloses only $110 + 22 \times \frac{1}{4} = 126.5$ acres of double-cropped land. There is thus an acute landshortage of 104 acres which should feed 166. 4 mouths¹. Here

how much has to be surrendered to the landowners according to the barga-contracts.

1. Assuming that $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres feed four,



is the number of people that are in excess in Dhanishwar. They constitute about 40 % of the total village population. The conclusion which emerges from Mr. Qadir's report (after some rearrangement) is that 40 % of the population should be induced to give up agriculture and make available their land (rent-free and without any contro-prestation, because Mr. Qadir's profitability-calculation holds only good when the cultivator is landowner too,) to the others to enable them to live on a "minimum-level"¹. Forty percent of the population should be given other sources of income to enable the remainder to live on a minimum level from their traditional occupation ; agriculture. That means vocational reorientation and training of the same percentage of workers.

Now, one might object that the present calculation is as pessimistic as Mr. Qadir's one is optimistic. One might and could relieve the strain of poverty by improving the techniques of cultivation. These measures would require some time for their effectuation (many of them are mere suggestions for nobody knows whether they will be really effective) but the report is confident that a 36% improvement is possible, although that is a limit (p.89). This improvement has to be brought about foremost in the conservative brains of farmers and includes moreover technical instruction as well as capital investment. During all those years (anything between 7 and 70 years—especially the development of new high producing crops is a lengthy affair), population will go on increasing and the improvement program starts with a handicap of 40%. You will easily see which horse will win the race. The conclusion is : Improvement of technique of cultivation is not enough or the result will be worse than the original situation. The resulting situation would be characterised by exhaustive exploitation of the local resources by a host of poor farmers, all producing paddy. The small surpluses they have will choke them, because there are no other commodities against which the agricultural products can be exchanged. The alternative would be export, but is the world really waiting for Pakistan rice and prepared to pay high prices for it. What then ?

1. Whatever that may be. Who has done the budget-studies ?

The view which looks upon technical improvements as a way out of misery is of course correct. We have given reasons why such improvements for Dhanishwar can not give relief to all inhabitants. Of these latter there are simply too many. On the other hand when technical improvements are used in that way they cannot be applied once again to elevate the welfare of the people. In other words to use them for the first purpose would automatically freeze the level of living at the assumed minimum. All the same, but people are purposely and systematically made dissatisfied with their present condition. Not by communists but by the government, by the radio, by films, by the development programs and welfare workers. They are shown new goods and new ways of living, new techniques that make life more secure and comfortable. This exhortation is a good thing, for complacent people are not inclined to make an effort for improvement. However, to keep people actively engaged, scope for improvement should be offered simultaneously and awards held out for strenuous effort, and higher standards of living made possible. For these reasons would it be ill-advised to exhaust the possibilities of technical agricultural advancement only to bind more people to a limited area with restricted possibilities. That would mean enforcing upon them a ceiling above which their wants cannot be satisfied. A one-sided program of rural reconstruction like the one sketched in the above and more or less followed by all projects now under way will ultimately spread poverty and discontent. So-called "cottage-industry" can never give the relief it is sometimes thought to give. It is supposed to bring additional income to cultivators. However this is the wrong way round. Paddy is cheap because almost every body grows paddy. Its price is high when stocks run out. Similarly baskets and other things will be next to worthless if everybody can supply his own wants and much more. Producing is one thing and making money of it quite another. One can only receive money for his goods if there are others who are willing to pay for them. To recognize this is agreeing that some factors that define a local economy are external. They may be so influential as to render obsolete all local improvements. In other words the fate of Dhanishwar

is linked with the fate of the district, of the nation. The observation throws quite a different light on local programs for village development and brings into relief what is in our eyes a major deficiency in such projects.

Part II The Dimension of Rural Reconstruction : The lesson of Dhanishwar. The reader who has followed us so far will have noticed that although Mr. Qadir's study of Dhanishwar is foremost on man-land adjustment, it nevertheless culminates in a number of recommendations for an upliftment program. They are not given in a concise form but appear more often as suggestions only, thus betraying in what directions the author's thoughts are probing. The impression is strengthened by the circumstance that many of his findings obtain a meaning only if viewed in that perspective. After all the report seems to say "If this is done and that measure is taken Dhanishwar will prosper." However, some objections did arise in our discussion. Some of which derive from the report itself, others from the larger frame of which the village is a (minor) part. In brief the report suggests that life could be better if farmers produced more paddy. An effort is made to show that if the price of paddy remains constant at Rs. 16- per maund and if people remain satisfied with an accepted minimum and if certain technical improvements prove 100% successful the available area of arable land is well-nigh sufficient to afford that minimum level to all villagers. This will be only so if we ignore the time-lag incurred by the implementation of improvements. As we have taken pains to show the deficiencies of that reasoning there is no need to cover the ground again. In the introduction the remark was made that Mr. Qadir's study fits in a prevailing rationale underlying several development programs, a rationale which seems to underestimate the magnitude and ramifications of those programs. What we want to do now is to take away any blame that one might have wished to cast on the author for deficient analysis. We want to show that he has been faithful to a policy for the outline of which he cannot be held responsible. This policy is exemplified in the present practice of all V-Aid activity, based as it is on a rather arbitrary division of East Pakistan in so-called "Development-areas." These

areas furthermore not treated as parts of a larger and primarily economic system but as isolated, self contained units. Also, when one looks into the work that is being done within the development area one will notice that the activities are little coordinated and that often even villages are treated as separate units. This means that the basis of the upliftment work is the status quo. The acreage is so much, there are so many people, which need minimal so much, let's see what we can do with technical improvements. That is in a nutshell the rationale of the whole program. A similar philosophy pervades the Urban Community Development Programme, which is based on arbitrarily chosen and defined blocks of existing urban settlements. There also we find concentration on the possibilities and difficulties inside the carved-out units and little or no attention to the external circumstances.¹ It should be clear, however, that when outside conditions are unfavourable, internal measures will be of no avail and that if the former are modified in a favourable way, many of the internal measures will become unnecessary. It must be feared that the present fragmented and short-sighted policy will prove wasteful of energy of money, because it is inadequate. They do not strike at the heart of the disease, but make at best the pain less unbearable for the moment. Let us make this point clear by taking for an example the village of Dhanishwar.

We have reason to believe that in Dhanishwar, because of its location in a "development area" much propaganda is made for improved methods in agrarian production. The result will be no doubt increased paddy-harvests. The advantages accruing to the different farmers will vary according to their respective farm-condition. To the same varying degree farmers will be inclined to spend more energy and time in securing bigger harvests. From the report's calculations follows that in Dhanishwar enough rice is grown to feed everybody. There is even some surplus that can be sold in the market, calculated by the report at 1595 maunds. In exchange other commodities can be bought. In this way the

1. The "external circumstances" are often conceived of as possible sources of subsidies only.

economy of Dhanishwar is linked up with the regional and national economy. Therefore it is wrong to treat the economy of Dhanishwar—or any other village for that matter—isolatedly, as we remarked in the above. To analyze the situation appropriately we will have to distinguish three different niveaux of economy; the nation, the village and the household. The report only pays attention to the latter two, without having been successful to keep them separate, however. Although rice production is big enough to provide food for every inhabitant, the question “does everybody receive enough?” remained unanswered.

On the evidence offered by the report we may surmise that in some families this is indeed the case, in others not. Those who have, dispose of their surplus in the market. With the money received they pay their debts, buy their other necessities, etc. Apart from the few who have surplusses big enough to pay for all their needed commodities, all families live in varying degrees of want. The general situation is ameliorated a little because some people have non-agrarian sources of income, which afford them the means to supplement their paddy income. They will be only a factor in the rice market to the extent they really need to buy rice for consumption. If they produce enough to cover own consumption this group will not appear in the market as buyers of rice. The question thus arises who will buy all that extra surplus that will result from increased production? That is the crucial question. Material welfare in Dhanishwar can only be increased if it can get other commodities in exchange for its “exported” paddy, for there are no artisans in the village. The same thing can be said of any other village of East Pakistan. The Census 1951 figures show that about 8% of the total population is agriculturally engaged. The rest is not. There are thus about six “producers” against one buyer. An increase of paddy production will result in a paddy inflation and its price will drop. This sounds strange in the face of widespread hunger and mass-imports. Still it is true as the great fluctuations (both seasonal and regional) of the rice price show. The paddy inflation finds its source, not in abundance of rice, but in shortage of money. Similarly not

the hunger sets the price of the paddy but the maximal expenditure people can afford. Many people who really want rice for food do not have the means to buy it. Thus hunger has no influence on the price-level.

In addition the people who are able to buy rice do not always need to. Those who do not produce their own rice but have other occupations live for the greater part in the cities. In these cities imported rice is distributed by the government at low prices. In addition often transport restrictions on rice prevail thus preventing that farmers can dispose of their surpluses in the big consumption centres, but force them to sell their crop in local markets.¹ We do not want to challenge the motives behind these measures. They are clear enough. Cheap rice keeps labourers satisfied, wages low and strengthens Pakistan's competing powers in the international market. Also there is a real shortage in the country side, because in general production does not always seem to meet consumption. The consequences of the adopted policy is that East Pakistan farmers have to feed the rural surplus population (i. e. all those "producers" who do not even grow enough to feed themselves and earn no money to buy the needed additional pounds of rice.) In addition he is forced—in an indirect way - to make sacrifices for the maintenance of the industrial competing power. Both burdens are without reward. Who do profit from the situation are the foreign high producing countries who buy from Pakistan industrial products at a cheaper rate than they can produce these themselves.

Two economic circuits in East Pakistan

We come to recognize that there are in East Pakistan at least two economic circuits. One is rural, basically a subsistence economy which is partly drained to support a non-producing surplus population. The other is industrial which is concentrated in urban areas and forms part of an international system. Its

1. These restrictions have been repealed now, if I am correct, still lack of cheap transport remains an efficient bar.

products are exported in return of which foodstuffs are imported. In addition to that raw materials are exported in exchange for finished industrial products. In this way East Pakistan pays labour abroad for the work it does in the meantime supporting a large percentage of non -, or low-producing people at home.

Such is the overall picture of the situation in which villages like Dhanishwar find themselves. Therein increased paddy production will have an adverse effect only. Because there are no buyers, prices will drop. Prices will drop even out of proportion, because many farmers have contracted land or debts under the obligation of paying the rent in kind. The creditors do not need all that rice for consumption. They are inclined to sell their revenue at all cost because they want cash and thus compete in a sellers-market with the producers. They will the sooner do so when they profit from increased production automatically and without extra expenditure. This is a consequence of share-cropping contracts. Under these circumstances the farmer has very much to fear that increased production will do him no good. It will do him little good because increased production, always means increased production cost. The share-cropping and mortgaging contracts leave these all to the cultivator. The law of diminishing returns wields full power here and shows its influence very quickly. As the Academy's publication "Enlightened Farmers Camp" tends to show, those farmers are inclined to apply improved techniques who are reasonably certain to receive the full benefit themselves. As a rule these are not the low-producing indebted farmers with small acreages.

The Magnitude of the Development Task

The question arises, "when can a farmer be reasonably assured?" That is not easy to say, because households differ in composition as individuals do in capacities and needs. But some foothold affords us Mr. Qadir when he relates that according to the local population an acreage of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of double-cropped land per four adults would be sufficient to supply their primary needs. We have objected that this estimate is sub-minimal because it does not provide for reserves to cope with emergencies. As the author further confirms us that farm efficiency

can be increased by about 36% we may assume that in due course those 2 acres will indeed be sufficient to keep four adults out of want and debt. Let us therefore assume that these are the conditions that guarantee the farmer the fruits of his labour. We have seen that in Dhanishwar not all the inhabitants can be put in the relatively happy circumstance of sharing among the four of them two and a half acres of rent-free and double-cropped land because there is not enough of it. The conclusion had to be therefore : 40% of the population is superabundant and the advice, give these 40% other jobs. The next advice is that the barga system and the customary payment in kind should go. Only if these two measures are taken agriculture will be freed from its burdens, and the remaining farmer will get the full rewards of his labour. Then it will be worth his while to increase his production. It would perhaps not be too difficult to remove 40% of Dhanishwar's population, that is 166 persons and give them non-agricultural jobs. Some could even remain in the village and earn a living as blacksmith, carpenter, or school teacher, a shop keeper. Some other artisans and a few public functionaries too may be necessary. These can live from the services they render the little community and for which they are paid. The greater majority will find in that village no logical place, because they are simply overcomplete. For them accommodation must be found in urban centers. When they are gainfully employed there in non-agricultural occupations they will earn money. They will certainly do so because industrial products are in high demand and much need to be imported. Then these people will be in the position to pay for the rice they eat, unlike before. There will be more buyers of rice and less "producers" in market. Wage earners and pensioners who have money to spend will crowd them and buy the agricultural produce of the farmer. A part of the buyers will produce things the farmer needs who in his turn will be able to buy them because he gets paid for his produce. The situation is more or less like a pair of hands. To wash one hand, you need another. Similarly agriculture nor industry can save themselves but they can do so in mutual collaboration.

The recognition of this reveals at the same time the magnitude of the task ahead. What is valid for Dhanishwar is also

applicable to most of the other villages of East Pakistan. Comparison with the advanced economies leads to a similar conclusion. In the latter ones 60, 70, 80 % of the population is non-agriculturally engaged. If East Pakistan wants to attain that same level of living a heavy program of industrialization and expanded services appears inevitable. To make such a program effective not industrial production for a foreign market should be the aim, but production for the 45 million customers of East Pakistan. Of these are at present about 40 % non-productive. That makes 18,000,000 people. For these industries and workshops need to be built. And accommodations in urban centres of course. From these figures follows that 30 cities of the size of Dacca are immediately necessary. Next year the position will be different, more grave, because the population increases annually with some two percent, that is another million mouths to be fed, another million pair of hands looking for work. It also means another city one and a half time as big as Dacca. Because the factors that condition the village economy of Danishwar are mostly external, measures that do not transgress the village can not be hoped to be effective. Piecemeal solutions in isolated development areas or villages will for that reason not produce the desired results, and also because they are derived from an economic system which differ essentially from the existing one. By forcing their application in the prevailing inadequate economic system they become ineffective or, if applied on a large scale, work like a boomerang. That this latter is an imminent danger we saw when inquiring the consequences of the proposed increase of paddy-production¹. We think to be right when we say that Dhanishwar will not prosper unless the economic structure of the country is changed. This applies to all villages that are in a similar position. East Pakistan's villages will prosper once again when these are industrial production centres, not before. The way out seems

1. Another proof is the increased land-speculation in the Kush-tia area. As a result of the activities of the Ganges-Kobadak-Project people have become convinced that production will see tremendous increases. As a consequence land prices have more than trebled in the last two years. It is obvious

to be a masterplan consisting in some five major aspects. The first is the creation of a reliable system of social security provisions, linked with a series of measures that render speculation in arable lands impossible. People should be enabled and made willing to invest their savings otherwise than in real estate. They should be convinced that their old age will be free of want and worries. In that way a halt may be called to the land-hunt and the constant over-evaluation of real estate, agriculture may be freed from its heavy overhead costs, money become available to set up industries and carry out public works.

The second is the differentiation of the occupational possibilities coupled with a specialization of labour. This calls for expansion of the apprenticeship training, especial of the lower echelons. In industrial economies there are 30 subaltern technical workers (higher Technical School level) and about 400 skilled workers (lower Technical School level) and about 400 skilled workers (lower Technical School) against one University trained engineer. These figures indicate where the accent should be put. The third is the establishment of industries and the creation of new urban centres to receive the at present non-productive section of the rural population. This requires also the extension of government services, especially in the field of communication and distribution. It is a fair estimate that about half of present non-productive able men could be made useful in the construction of all kinds of public works. They won't have to be paid much and need food whether they work or not.

The fourth is the removal of the surplus population from the agricultural areas, reallocation of land to the remaining farmers, who must be made assured of long term occupation for a constant and reasonable rent not payable in kind.

The fifth is regional planning. When it is possible to calculate for one village how many people can live from the agricultural produce, it is possible for a whole district. This gives the

that whosoever is going to profit from the technical improvement, it is not the cultivating class unless timely counter-measures are taken.

present overpopulation, for which industries and cities must be built. Studies of rural communities in advanced economies have shown that they should have population of about 3000 to be viable. Calculations are also available that show the quantity and composition of non-agriculturally engaged people that are vital to such communities. This enables us to estimate the optimum number of agrarians and this in turn the total arable land that should come under one village. In this way the places of village-centres can be provisionally indicated on the map. Between this first stratum of villages and the District capital a pattern of secondary, tertiary and quaternary service-centres can be laid out, where schools, colleges, doctors, police, health centres, hospitals, public services, markets and magistrates, small catering and processing industries and dealers may find a logical place. The exact locations of these habitation-centres of different size will have to be defined, taking into account the topography and physical characteristics of the region.

A Reconstructed Province :

Looking at the district as a whole we can imagine it covered with a new pattern of agrarian and industrial possibilities, based as the estimate will be on its physical condition and the potentialities and needs of its population. A system of administration and communications, of transport and supplies can be designed to serve the new economic structure which will be intensified by a differentiated industry that processes regional products or caters for the needs of the people.

The amount of labour that goes into the preparation and subsequent realisation of such a program on a province—or even district-wide scale almost surpasses imagination. The time it will require does too. Take, for instance, the preparations for the reclamation of the Zuiderzee in the Netherland. These alone took more than twenty years. During that time the whole area was mapped, its geology and hydrology and soils were extensively analysed. Techniques of dyke-construction and drainage were designed and tested. In the meantime the heavy equipment that was necessary to do the work were prepared and the organizations implemented that would supervise and carry out

the construction. Then farm studies and population prognoses were made and accordingly the layout of the new tracks of land designed. The site and optimal size of cities and villages, with their respective proportions of agricultural, industrial, commercial enterprises and employees were assessed as well as of the various services. Now after forty years the project is just about half-way and another forty will be required to complete the whole plan. By then there will be some six hundred thousand acres of new land, affording a place to work and live comfortably for certainly three quarters of a million people. By 1980 there will be a central city of about 250,000 inhabitants served by water-ways, rail and other roads with its core of heavy industry and provincial administrative offices and services ; with its religious social welfare, medical and educational institutions ; with its own recreation grounds, etc. In addition there will be a score of smaller centres of about 50,000 inhabitants, likewise with all the amenities that modern cities require. There will be a hundred or more new villages and tens of thousands viable agricultural industrial and commercial enterprises. This spectacular program of land-utilization teaches us two things. It can be done and successfully so, but demands much time and concise planning. As a matter of fact the planning had proved a persistent aspect, because of constant change in national economic structure and the growth of the population. The latest development in the Zuiderzee project is that large areas will not be given to agriculture but set apart for industry and residential purposes. This is in deviation of the original design, which envisaged all the area as purely agricultural. However population pressure has become so heavy that even this large-scale project is not nearly enough. As a consequence a masterplan has been evolved, which has become known as the "National Plan" to safeguard the Dutch from awkward surprises in future as it takes account of socio-economic prognoses that strike out far into the second Millennium. It envisages reclamations on a bigger scale than ever before, it includes a complete reconstruction of the economic structure and modifies profoundly the topography. In this way the foundations for a happy future for the coming generations are laid.

Now the present position of East Pakistan is in two respects comparable to the Netherlands. Both have a fast growing and numerous population. Both have a water-logged, riverine topography. The difference between the two is in tempo. The Dutch plan for the future, most East Pakistani still have to catch up with the present. The former offer an example how the latter's problems may be solved.

The alternative for East Pakistan—we mean to postpone the solution of its problems—is hardly imaginable either. However, history can point out several instances of what happens to civilizations that failed to find the appropriate answer to the challenge of the age.

Tehran, May 1961;

BĒNGALI RIDDLES FROM ORAL TRADITION

Ashraf Siddiqui

A. FOLKLORE AND RIDDLES :

“When first I appear I seem mysterious,
But when I am explained I am nothing serious.”

Riddle. —Taylor, *English Riddles*, 100

Back of all literature stretches the immeasurable world of oral tradition—which may be called FOLKLORE. FOLKLORE is a very short word but it has a turbulent history. Actually the word FOLKLORE was coined by one English scholar William Thoms (W. G. Thoms) in 1846. Literally translated, FOLKLORE signifies the wisdom and knowledge of the people. This term was quite rapidly taken by scholars in other countries and ultimately it became an international term.

In anthropological sense, the term folklore has come to mean legends, myths, folktales, fairy tales, proverbs, riddles, charms, superstitions, place-names and all other varieties of artistic expressions whose medium is the spoken word. So we can say that folklore is a verbal art.

But it is true that the science of folklore is an historical science; historical because it seeks to throw light on our past ; a science because it endeavours to attain the conclusion, not by speculation but by the inductive method used in all scientific research or study.

As the data of folklore are the myths, legends, traditions, narratives, superstitions, religions, rituals, customs, dances, beliefs, charms and explanations of nature and man of a certain ethnic group in each part of the world it is a branch of cultural ethnology also.

In short, folklore is a lively fossil of our past which refuses to die. “It is a precipitate of the scientific and the cultural

lag of centuries and millennia of human experience.”¹

In early time probably this change was slower and less frequent and as such, these earlier customs and beliefs became deeply entrenched in our blood. “This primitive pattern and mandalas, ripened and mellowed like hand-rubbed woods, have persisted beneath the hasty veneers of later civilizations, to surprise us with their beauty when we chance to uncover them. Beauty they have because they were formed slowly close to nature herself, and reflect her symmetry and simplicity. So in a sense, folklore is how we used to do it and wish we could do now. Hence, folklore is always the delight of children because it is the poetic wisdom of the childhood of the race. It is also the pleasure of the old who are wise enough to renew their youth by rebaptism in the eternal simplicities in completing the circle of life.”²

However, with all other branches of folklore, riddles also have become an interesting study to the folklorists, anthropologists and ethnologists all over the world specially in America and Europe. All the scholars have come to conclusion that riddles rank with myths, fables and folktales as one of the earliest and most widespread types of formulated thought.

According to M. Bloomfield, “From the olden times, as an early exercise of the primitive mind in its adjustment to the world about it, comes the riddles...The fresher the vision, when the world was young, so much keener was the interest in the phenomena of nature, in the phenomena of life, and in the simple institution which surrounded man. All harmonies and fitness, all his discrepancies and inconsistencies attract the notice of children and childlike men. Hence children love riddles ; hence savage and primitive people put them. They are the mystery, at the same time the rationalism of the juvenile mind. As civilization advances they still sustain life but they grow more complicated, more conscious and exacting, as the simpler relations become common place, and interest in them fades and wears off.”³

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1. Potter, C. F., Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology And Legend p. 401.
 2. Ibid.,
 3. M. Bloomfield, Brahminical Riddles, 1901; *op. cit.*, by Potter, SDFML, p. 939.

So, according to Bloomfield, the simple and child-like minds of the ancient people originated riddles, and with the advancement of the civilization they grew complicated.

M. Bloomfield belonged to neither the school of "comparative mythology" nor to that of "anthropology". Still, his remarks coincide with Andrew Lang when the latter says about folk tales that they "were very ancient and had been handed down, with a gradual refining, from ages of savagery to ages of civilisation."¹

However, we could question here the causes of the compactness of the whole mass of folk riddles which are in the oral tradition as compared to the earliest long riddles found in the Vedas or the Bible. But C. F. Potter answers that question :

"Folklore is the lore of learning or common sense or mother wit of the people as passed down from parent or grand-parent to child or grandchild, and that folk knowledge must be packaged and capsulated for easier transmission down through the generation".²

As to the question of their long continued preservation he adds : "Their vigorous compactness of forms seems to give them a peculiar hold on the popular imagination and in many cases to ensure their preservation for centuries."³

Finally he remarks :

"Contrary to common assumption that they are mere word puzzle proposed by punsters at evening parties, riddles rank with myth, fables, folktales and proverbs as one of the earliest and most wide spread types of formulated thought."⁴

That the riddles may rank with myth fables and folktales can be proved from the comparative study of folklore.

Potter's remarks have been criticized on the ground that all primitive people do not have riddles; the Indians of South

1. Andrew Lang, Introduction to Cox, Cinderella, pp. xiff; *op. cit.* Thomson, Folktales, p. 382.

2. Potter, SDFML, p. 939.

3. Chapel, L. W., *op. cit.*, by Potter, SDFML, p. 939,

4. Ibid., 938.

and North America did not know riddles. Moreover, riddles were supposed to be unknown even to the more civilized Jews and Chinese.

The questions need critical examination. Dr. Archer Taylor says that "early examples of typical true riddles occur in Hebrew literature, in which the comparison of Moses entering the sea to a man opening a lock of water with a wooden key is both old and well established."¹

Chinese riddles, though, have never awakened much interest among scholars, still, Richard C. Rudolph has given ample examples of their existence.

Anthropologists like Franz Boas and others, though remarked that American Indians knew nothing of riddles, "still the subject cannot be treated as closed."

Moreover, E. W. Gifford has directed our attention to the fact that the aborigines of Australia also were familiar with riddles.²

Now the question rises whether the aborigines of America, Australia or Africa were familiar with the metaphorical or rhythmic aspects of the riddles (*i. e.*, "mastery of thought and powerful sense of rhythm") which are supposed to be the main criteria of their excellence. The answer is still negative.

We know that aborigines used to employ symbolical questions and answers during some parts of the year in order to be protected from evil spirits. These were a part of their ritual. Even a learned anthropologist like Frazer was bothered by the question. He wrote, "The custom of asking riddles at certain seasons or on certain special occasions is curious and has not yet, so far as I know, been explained."³

He answered rather in a doubtful mood, "They may have originally been used as a substitute for direct words in certain time of the year."⁴

1. Taylor, Eng. Riddles, p. 3.

2. Ibid., p. 3.

3. Frazer, Golden Bough, p. 121-122.

4. Ibid., p. 122.

The aborigines of Indo-Pakistan still use some questions and answers in some ceremonies as a part of their rituals. But a sufficient number of riddles have also been discovered and collected during recent years from the aborigines of Chotonagpur, India.¹ Moreover, like other more cultured societies of the continent even today, they use riddles in their marriage ceremonies. Probably they took these riddles from more cultured contemporary races.

The question may be examined from a more important point. In Ramayana, the earliest epic of Indo-Pakistan, we see that Aryans knew non-Aryans and Dravidians very well. Ravana, the rival of Rama in Ramayana, was Dravidian. So in Indo-Pakistan the question was not complicated. But the situation in Australia and America was worse in the sense that the aborigines there neither had this long continued cultural background nor had any opportunity of knowing more civilized races until the progress brought by new discoveries, when only the increasing colonization by European people in all the remote parts of these continents kindled their curiosity.

My observation among the riddles of the aborigines of Indo-Pakistan leads me to come to the conclusion that the aborigines of this country as well as America, Australia, and Africa might have had the seeds of their future riddles in their ritualistic practices which in later time may have been accelerated with the contact of more advanced people and a more advanced civilization.

As all "men are made of the same paste" it was quite possible that "all harmonies, fitness, discrepancies and inconsistencies of nature" might have attracted also the aborigines who consequently created plain and crude riddles. "Mastery of thought" was probably accelerated in a much later period with the contact of a more advanced civilization. If we accept this point, probably a compromise between the two schools of opinion is possible and we can agree with Professor Taylor on the point that "riddling is an universal art."²

1. Man in India, Vol. XXXIII, 1943, p. 330.

2. Taylor, Eng. Riddles, p. 3.

B. HISTORY AND EARLIEST DOCUMENTS :

The use of the riddle is very old in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The history of the oldest riddles of the world can be traced in Rigveda, the earliest book in Sanskrit, which dates about 1000 B. C. Probably they found their way into books directly from the oral tradition. In Vedic ages, as it was customary among the Brahmins to ask riddles in many sacrificial ceremonies—especially in the Asvamedha (the ceremony of sacrificing horses), it was quite possible that popular riddles were dressed up for use in ritual.¹

Though the oldest riddles occur as the hymns in the first book of the Rigveda, forty-seven slightly different and shorter riddles are found in the later Atharvaveda, and the parallels of the first book also may be seen in other Vedic texts. A typical riddle is :

“The one who made him does not know him. He escapes from the one who has seen him. Enveloped in his mother’s womb, he is subject to annihilation, while he has many descendants.” The answer is probably ‘lightning’.

“The style reminds us of the popular riddle, but themes, so far as we can perceive them”, says Dr. Taylor, “are literary rather than popular.”²

“I saw a restless shepherd travelling back and forth on his path. He garbs himself in that which goes in the same and in an opposite direction. He goes hither and thither among creatures.”

Examples of many of these types may be found in Taylor’s type 484 (Eng. Riddles) where the answers are ‘sun’, ‘moon’ and ‘stars.’ But in Sanskrit actually the answer is ‘breath’. It should be noted carefully that the sophisticated meaning of the riddle was changed in the later oral tradition.

‘Year’ has been depicted in Vedas in many places as : “The wheel of nature with twelve spokes that turns around heaven without ever going to ruin. On it stand, O Agni, sons in pairs

1. Taylor, Literary Riddles, p. 14.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

to the number of seven hundred and twenty.¹ (Taylor's type 1037-1038, Eng. Riddles). We find a similar riddle in Shahnama of Firdousi :

"Twelve cypresses stand in a circle and shine in resplendent green ; each has thirty branches and neither their esteem nor their number becomes less in the land of the Parsees."² (Taylor, Eng. Riddles, type, 1037-38).

A similar riddle may be found in the 'Doctor 'Claretus' book (Anglo-Latin collection) as well as in Spanish and Portuguese sources.

It is interesting to note how the same types of riddles even upto the present are still fresh, lucid, soothing and amusing in the remote villages of Pakistan and India :

(i) There is a tree somewhere. It has twelve trunks, /And three hundred and sixty five Branches.—Year

(ii) An old lady has twelve sons, /Some are warm ; some are cold; Twelve sons have three hundred and sixty five children,/Some are long some are short.—Year

The second great Sanskrit epic, Mahabharata, also illustrates some Indo-Pakistani ethics which have interesting parallels in the oral tradition of today, *e. g.*,

"Who is the friend of the traveller? Who is the friend of him who remains at home? Who is the friend of the sick? Who is the friend of the dying?—A caravan, the wife, the doctor and charity.³

In Bengali :

(i) What is the supreme religion?—Nonviolence.

(ii) What is superior to Heaven?—Mother (and Motherland),

(iii) What is God's voice?—Everybody's voice.

(iv) What spoil the face and character?—Pimple and poverty.

(v) What three are not allies?—Death, Son-in-law and nephew.

(vi) What is the sweetest place in this vain world?—Father-in-Law's house.

1. Ibid., p. 15.

2. Ibid., p. 39.

3. Ibid., p. 16.

(vii) Who is expert in three: sleeping, eating and losing his temper?—Worthless.

The highly sophisticated quality of many Sanskrit riddles can perhaps be adequately illustrated by one rather simple example of an invention like a charade.

“Who moves in the air? Who makes noise on seeing a thief? Who is the enemy of the lotuses? Who is the climax of fury?”¹

The answer to the first three questions, when combined in the manner of a charade, yield the answer to the fourth question. The first answer bird. (vi), the second dog (cva), the third sun (mitra) and the whole is Visvamisra; Rama’s first teacher and counsellor and a man noted for his temper.

We know the story of the Sphinx and Oedipus. A similar story may be found in the Sanskrit epic Mahabharata, where god, in the disguise of a crane asked three riddles to the five Pandavas and Yudhishthira answered riddles and thus they were permitted to drink water from the pond guarded by the crane.²

In the Kathasaritsagara (The Ocean of Story) of Somadeva (11th century) we see how a princess, being unable to answer the riddle of one king Vinitamati, submitted to him.³

Gaining a princess as well as half of a kingdom is a popular motif both in Indo-Pakistani and European folktales (H-551). Sometimes princess is offered to any one capable of outwitting her (H-555), sometimes the solver is a clever person, but even an ordinary peasant could earn a reward and social prestige (H-561). At times the hero unable to guess what is meant is helped out of his difficulties by some clever maidens and ultimately marries her.⁴

Probably these motifs were transmitted to European tales from Indo-Pakistani sources.⁵

1. Ibid., p. 16-17.

2. Kashirama Das, Mahabharata, Bana-parba.

3. Penzer, N. M., The Ocean of Story, (London), 1926, VI, 74f.

4. Mitra, S. C., JAS/Beng., I. (1901), p. 33.

5. Benfey, T., *op. cit.*, by S. Thomson, Folktales, p. 376.

We also see many riddles in the stories of Vikrama (Vetala Pancavimcati), but these are all based in story forms.

As to the question of the popularity and antiquity of riddles, we now can direct our attention, for a rapid survey, from our spiritual land to the world out side.

The oldest popular riddle in connection with 'man' may be found in Greece. The old Scotch Gaelic version of the riddle runs like this :

Four feet it has in the morning,
Yet first movement is a-lacking.
With two about mid-day
He can manage much better.
Though he gets at night fall three,
He moves but soft and slow,¹

In Bengali it is :

Fore legs it has in the morning,
Two legs it has at the noon ;
Three legs it has in the evening,
With three legs it goes home,—MAN.)

The Sphinx, the monster of Thebes, is said to have proposed that riddle to all passersby and, upon their failure, to have devoured them; Prince Oedipus is supposed to have defeated the Sphinx by guessing the riddle. The cause of world-wide circulation of this riddle is probably its being repeatedly used by literary men.

Tradition relates that Homer, the Greek epic poet of the 9th century B. C., died from vexation for not being able to guess a riddle for 'lice'.

Ancient China also had various kinds of puzzling questions. It seems from the 14th century biography of Haji Khalifa that Arabians also developed excellent riddles, and Al-Hariri of Basora (1050-1120 A. D.) was one of the powerful riddle-masters.²

1. Taylor, Eng. Riddles, p. 7.

2. Taylor, Literary Riddles, p. 17.

Riddles may also be found in the stories of Arabian Nights where heroes are to guess riddles in order to prove their wit and wisdom.

Hebrew riddles have a very long history. We know how Samson puzzled Philistines at his wedding by asking riddles.¹

The King James version of the Bible possesses many allegorical passages. In the 10th century, Dunnas-ben-Labrat,² the founder of Spanish poetry, wrote riddles. In Persian literature, especially in the Shahnama of Firdousi (who was born in 940 A. D.), we find the hero Zal saying riddles. In Byzantium the writing of literary riddles extended from the first-half of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.³

Like other countries, in our old Bengali literature also, we find plenty of enigmatic and mystic questions which though are not riddles in the strict sense but are nearer to riddles. We can cite some from CHARYAPADA, the earliest Bengali book which has so far been discovered. e. g.,

Kassapa duhia bhanre dhara na jai,
Gaser tentula kumire khai.

... ..

Dibose bahuri kak hoite dor bhabe,
Rati hoile kamrupa jai.
E heno charya kukkuripade gailo,
Koti majhe eka hiyai samailo.

(The milk of a tortoise cannot be contained in a vessel ;
The tamarinds of the trees are being eaten by crocodiles ;
During the day the bride fears even a crow.
But at night she goes to Kamrupa.

Kukkuripada says, one in a million can guess this enigma.)

These 'tortoise', Crocodiles', and 'bride' are nothing but irreligious persons. It is true that these are not riddles in the strictest sense for they did not go to the oral tradition and as such do not

1. Ibid., p. 17.

2. Ibid., p. 17.

3. Ibid., p. 45.

cial test of folklore. But they might have some seeds
dles—atleast some inspiration.

nature riddles may be found in the MANGAL KAV-
of mythical epic written by some literary conscious
posed in the middle ages.

poets were brought up in the school of Sanskritic
sentiment, their literature also obviously echoes the
Sanskritic 'alankara' (rhetoric) and 'chanda' (rhythm).
nfluenced also by the Persian literature like 'Shah-
others, for Persian became the court language of
fter the Muslim conquest in the early 13th century.

Persian literature was also rich with a huge store
dles.

kan Mukundaram, a 16th century Bengali poet was
werful riddle master. We find plenty of riddles in
[angal.' e. g.,

idhata nirman ghore nahiko duar.

'ahate purush ek bose nirahar.

akhan purush bar hoi balaban,

idhata srijana ghar kare khan khan.

God has made the house ; there is no door ;

ne man is sitting there without any food.

Vhen the man becomes strong,

he breaks the house into pieces.—EGG).

us take one from the later DHARMA-MANGAL
ram Chakravarty, where Subikha, a prostitute
some riddles in order to test his

It does not keep any remnants of its foot
It is always poor.

It causes pain to him who shelters it.

It is neither wicked nor deceitful,

For it gives much help to others.—FIRE.)

Now we can exhibit some typical folk riddles w
abundantly found in the oral tradition of East Pakista

(i) Ektukhani gase Syl. 6; cvcv.

Ranga bouti nase. Syl. 6; cvcv.

Foot : *Hyperdactylic* ;/— — —; figure : *Metaphor*; rhy

(On a little plant,

The beautiful bride dances.—Pepper.)

(ii) Ektukhani Gare Syl. 6; cvcv

Chunakama kare Syl. 6; cvcv

Foot : *Hyperdayctlic*; /— — —; figure : *Metaphor* ; cvcv.

(One little house;

But it is always whitewashed.—Egg.)

(iii) Janma jakhan pai Syl. 6; cvv

Amar nar har nai. „ „; cvv

Foot : *Hyperdactylic* ;/— — —; figure : *Personification* ;

(After taking birth—

I do not move a single space.—Egg.)

(iv) Lal baran sa charan petkatle hate S

Mukhkhe ki bhangabe panditer fate

Foot : *Dactylic* ; — —; figure : *Hyperbole* ; rhyme : cvcv

(A red colored man has six feet ;

If you cut his belly, still he walks.—A

(v) Bonatheko berlo tia

Sonar topor

Foot : *Trochaic* ;/— ; figure :

We can simply remark that in comparison with the above mentioned literary riddles, these are obviously short ; but they possess a nice sense of rhythm and rhyme.

We can exhibit few cases of assonance :

(i) Ektukhani puskarini talmala *kare* Syl. 14 ; cvcv.

Ektukhani kuta parle sarbonaso *kare*. ,, ,, ; cvcv.

Foot ; *Hyperdactylic* ; figure : *Allied simile* ; rhyme : same cvcv.

(A small sparkling pond.

If you drop any particle into it, everything is spoiled.

—Eyes—)

Or, assonance with alliterations, which is much nearer to folk rhymes :

(ii) Thal *jhan jhan* thal *jhan jhan* thal nilo *hore* ; Syl. 11 ; cvcv

Brindabone agun laglo ke nevaite *pare* ? Syl. 11 ; cvev

Foot: 1st.line-Dactylic ; 2nd.line-Hyperdactylic ; figure : onomatopoea ; rhyme : 2nd. vowel sounds are different ; assonance.

(A plate makes music ; a plate makes music ;

It has caught fire at Brindaban ; who can extinguish it ?

—Sun-beam.)

Now we can use our finding to say :

1. The themes of the above mentioned literary riddles are found in the previously discussed folk riddles also ; but the literary riddlers have elevated them to the scholastic standard ; these have a highly developed sense of rhythm and are of purely literary nature.

2. The above-mentioned literary riddles have been put in the form of speeches made by the object, and the authors go on and on—a fact which requires a highly developed intellect and even an ‘Oedipus’ to solve them. They are rarely used by folk minds.

3. Some folk riddles have literary quality ; probably they were derived from the literary sources.

4. As folk riddles as well as their answers are all traditional ; one does not have to rack his brain for the answers ; he knows them. folk riddles are the test of memory rather than intellect, and for this reason they are obviously short. This ‘vigorous compact-

ness' gives them a 'peculiar hold' on the popular imagination for easier transmission 'down through the generation.'

5. The subject matter of many Sanskrit and Bengali literary riddles are found in the popular tradition. Probably Bengali literary riddlers coined their subject matter from the oral tradition and, as a general train of folklore in later times, these riddles lost their gravity and excellence in the oral tradition. As all early Sanskrit and Bengali literature was composed in rhyme and used to be sung by the poets to the mass, it was not unlikely that the ordinary mass came in contact with these literary riddles, and later on, some were garbled or else partially or completely assimilated.

6. We have already seen that, as in Sanskrit and medieval Bengali literature, we find innumerable examples of "mastery of thoughts" and "powerful sense of rhythm" and rhetorical elements in the present mass of folk riddles. Why? The answer is, folk poets are unlettered rather than illiterate ; gifted individuals do arise in the peasant communities also.

7. Riddles and enigmatic expressions in the Sanskrit literature were the aristocracy of literature ; literary riddles in the medieval Bengali literature were its feudalism, and finally later folk riddles were its democracy, i. e., they were by the people, for the people, of the people—the creation of the masses rather than the classes. And, obviously they contain the elements of both deterioration and elevation. Deterioration means literary riddles lost rhetorical and prosodic excellence ; elevation means some were raised from the oral standard and were decorated with the garments of plain but fascinating folk rhetorical and prosodic elements.

8. As in other countries possessing these unlettered but gifted individuals, a new genre of rhythm and rhyme was created in Bengali—which is called "folk—rhymes" and which will be abundantly found in the later children's rhymes and games. As a general train of folklore, these rhymes in later time again were mixed with the folk-riddles, which process have made them easier and more pleasant.

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and tell tales and riddles all night. About one hundred miles north of Dacca, the Capital City, stretches the green land of Mymensingh, the biggest District in Indo-Pakistan. Surrounded with rivers and rivulets, plains and hills, this District is really a boon of nature.

One fine morning in the month of December, 1957, I started from Dacca by service bus. But the bus did not go to our destination as it was in an out of the way place. The arrangement was made that we were to be guests in the local police station and then to set out for folklore hunting.

Our destination (MADHUPUR) was the most beautiful part of the District. There were fields decked with golden rice; malati and champa plants decorated with silvery flowers were pleasant to the eyes. On the 15th of December the rural people started observing harvest festivals. Dancing and singing is their religion—these simple people, living close to nature, have become part and parcel of it. Eighty per cent of the people are illiterate, and they depend on their own harvest. Of the whole population, Seventy per cent is Muslim and Thirty per cent is low caste Hindu whose religion is based on animism. They have only one high school and primary school within ten miles. They still live in the world of beliefs, superstitions and magics. When they become ill, they go to the local sorcerer instead of doctors for doctors use 'painful needles'.

The police officer was saying, "The people are not bad ; they do not steal, do not tell lies. But they have that primitive nature of carrying away beautiful girls or other fellow's wives, of course, for marrying. Sometimes nobody bothers ; sometimes fearful bloodshed begins ; and, once begun, it continues for months and years. Those are very busy days for us."

However with the police officer we went to the house of a village chief on the hope that he could help us in our mission. But no response came from any side. They thought that we were all policemen and were coming there to arrest them for some crime. Our first trip for collecting folklore was unsuccessful. We could collect only a few songs, riddles and proverbs from

some school boys who had no fear of 'policemen'.

The next trip was made in the month of February, 1958. Instead of taking shelter with the 'policemen', this time we became guests in the residence of a local president of the Union Board who was recently elected by the people. He was not well educated, but he conquered the hearts of the people with his sincere feelings and sympathy for them. I expressed my intention to him.

Within a short time the village singers assembled in his bungalow and songs, ballads and tales were started one after another. With ordinary dress and a biri (country tobacco) on my lips I carefully marked the singers and called them again to my private room. My pencil went on working on my note books and I recorded 35 tales, 25 ballads and 15 songs within seven days, along with information about their professions and personal lives. I found that some riddles are recited by care-free boys and girls as challenges as they rend the evening sky with their sweet and pure laughter. These challenges may be direct or indirect. *e. g.*,

Rough leaves, silver branches, sweet liquid—
If you can guess this riddle
You are the worthy son of your father.—Sugar cane.

The riddle has been completed in one line only. The second and third lines are nothing but challenges. If anybody can answer it, he is the worthy son of his father. If he cannot, indirectly it stands that he is the illegitimate son of a mother ; because of this, the answerer will try his best to answer it.

A red colored man has six feet ;
If you cut his belly, still he walks !
Not to mention fools, even wise men fail to guess
it.—Ant.
That means if one cannot guess it, he will be
treated as a fool.

Other varieties of riddles give hopes for unexpected prizes. *e. g.*,

One little house ;
But it is always white washed.

If you can guess this riddle, I will give you a thousand rupees.—Egg.

If anyhow the answerer is successful, nobody will give him a thousand rupees ; neither he will be offered any title denoting his scholarship. He knows it. The world of these riddles is made with pure merriment ; the question of money does not rise here. If he can answer, his pure joy will turn the dust of this earth to the pearls of Heaven.

From the evening parties, one day, these challenges found their way to the marriage ceremonies of the Hindus, Muslims and aborigines of the country.

“At marriage parties also in Bengal riddles are frequently proposed by the younger relations and friends of the brides or of bride-grooms to the relations and friends of the opposite party, not only to while away the hours before dinner but also to test their intellectual capacity. In older times this pasture, began as an innocent mode of amusement, frequently led to altercation and even to violence. (Mitra, S. C, JAS/Beng, LXX (1901), 33)

Many stories are still current in the area as to how some zeminders (land lords) a hundred years ago made bets over riddles, and, being unable to guess the answer, ultimately lost their whole property.

I started reciting some riddles of the region which I collected the previous time. One after another people assembled and they informed me that they “knew hundreds of riddles like them.” But only five minutes before they were telling that they knew nothing of riddles ! Such is mob psychology !

A typical riddler and proverb teller of the region is Bachu Miah, age 55, a professional matchmaker. Bachu is a bald-headed, flat-nosed dwarf of a man. He always winks his eyes and wiggles his nose to and fro (that’s his habit) ; his very appearance is sufficient to cause laughter. In short he was an interesting man. I myself lighted a biri (country made tobacco), gave him some, and started talking with him.

Siddiqui—“where and when did you learn all these nice riddles ?”

Bachu—“I learned them from various people ; I started learning probably when I was a kid of 8.”

Siddiqui—"Why do people say riddles?"

Bachu—"Oh, simply to give enjoyment to themselves and others. These are pleasant to recite—I know hundreds of them; that's why all the people invite me to the marriage ceremonies; and, you know I earn something for this; If I don't go; marriage ceremony will become lifeless."

Siddiqui—"Do all the people say riddles?"

Bachu—"Not all, but most of them know at least a few because they hear them from their very boyhood."

Siddiqui—"How old are these riddles?"

Bachu—"Don't ask me—I am an illiterate man—may be a thousand years or more—what do I know? I got them from the people; I say them that's all; it is something like our hands and eyes——"

Just then A. Rahman, age 35, a modest personality and a teacher at the Primary school came in. Rahman was a talented student, but he could not pursue his studies due to financial reasons.

"—I would have been a professor if I had had the opportunity—and you see, now I am rotting away as a primary-school teacher!"

Siddiqui—"How did you learn all these riddles and proverbs?"

Rahman—"Mostly from the lips of the people whom I saw; well it is not difficult—everybody says riddles."

Siddiqui—"But it seems that your riddles are different and a little bit scholastic."

Rahman—"I don't like obscene riddles—you know that I am a teacher! I say riddle to my little students to teach them something! And you know that little kids like them very much."

Among the women informants, Salu, a girl of 20, was not happy with her newly married husband.

"—He doesn't try to understand me. My father and mother were greedy—they got money and sacrificed me! That's why I say all these riddles, proverbs, and tales which tell about my wretched career."

My observations show that riddles, proverbs and songs differ from person to persons; they recite those usually which fit

their sentiment best. It is a study of 'PERSONAL COMPLEX.'¹ Tears and joys in the shape of riddles, proverbs, tales and songs are still blooming in the rural areas.

How different are the riddles of my informants who live in the urban areas! Their taste and education, in most cases, have elevated them; modern scientific objects known to them in the urban areas have found way to their riddles. In some cases they have assimilated riddles from foreign sources also—especially from English, some of which will be found in this collection.

The giant of materialistic civilization has not yet devoured the traditional religion, beliefs, and superstitions of Pakistani people. Though the saying of riddles is fading in the urban areas, still the students of folklore will see their existence in the rural areas for some time more.

THE RIDDLES

In this collection of the Bengali Riddles, the method of classification used in Taylor's *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* and Hull and Taylor's *Irish Riddles and welsh Riddles* has been adopted. Where possible, interesting parallels have been presented along with the Bengali riddles. Close parallels of the Bengali versions have been furnished with each numbered riddles as variants a, b, c, d, and so on. The riddles have been arranged alphabetically.

A. COMPARISONS TO A LIVING CREATURE (1—15]

1. A small creature.

It can eat the whole finger.—Ring.

[A small golden steel full of human flesh.—Ring.

Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddle*, 343.]

2. A small creature.

It can eat the whole foot.—Socks or shoes.

[What is a small little chest at the bottom of the glen full of people's bones?—A shoe.

Hull and Taylor, *welsh Riddle*, 160]

1. Theory by prof. Azadovski :

3. Four legs it has in the moring,
Two legs it has at the noon,
Three legs it has in the evening,
With three legs it goes home.—Man.
[Four feet it has in the morning,/ Yet first movement is
a-lacking./With two about mid-day/He can manage much
better./ Though he gets at nightfull three,/He moves but soft
and slow.—Man. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 46—47.]
4. In the past I ate the people of the country.
I will eat more (the rest) in the future.—Cemetery.
[What is yonder, yonder in the enclosure of the hollow./
It kills none, it swallows a hundred.—Cemetery.
Hull and Taylor, *welsh Riddles*, 6.
Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 41, 66, Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 483.]
5. I see it here; I see it there.
What has a head but has no hair?—Pin.
[What has a head,/But no hair?—Pin.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 3.]
6. It dies not by beating; it dies without beating;
Without mouth it devours food.—Fire.
JAS/Beng. (LXX,) (1901) p. 34.
7. Its body is rough,
But it possesses sweet meat.—Jack fruit.
8. Its leg is like a pillar; its leaves are broad; its fruits hang down
in bunches and are sweet.—Plantain tree.
JAS/Beng; LXX, (1901), p. 88.
9. It has no mouth, yet it talks;
It has no legs, yet it walk.—Clock.
[Always moving while standing still.—Clock.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 125.
Something runs but has no legs.—Clock. *Ibid.*, 262.
What creature of God has no arms and legs, but can talk ?
—Clock.
Starr, *Filipino Riddles*, 89.]
10. It has teeth,
Yet it cannot eat.—Comb.
[What has teeth,/But cannot eat?—Comb,

Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 299a.

What has teeth and can't bite?—Comb, Ibid, 299b]

11. It is small, it is black,

And it can eat the whole head.—Black cap.

12. Many eyes and never a nose;

One tongue—that is all;

It always cries when it gees.—New shoes.

[Many eyes and never a nose, one tongue. and about it goes.—Shoe.

Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 14.]

13. The dead bites the living ;

And when bites, it always sings.—New shoe.

[The living is borne by the dead.—Shoe. (Indonesia);

Taylor, *Eng. Riddles* 828—829]

14. What goes past every house,

But cannot get across the river?—Path.

[It gose all over the hills and plains,/But whn it comes to a river, it breaks its neck.—Path.

Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 458.]

15. What goes to all the cities and places But dies and breaks its neck near a river?—Path.

B. COMPARISONS TO A BIRD (16-18)

16. A white bird throws its feathers everywhere.—Silk-cotton tree.

17. A white swine lays eggs.

Who can count how many ?—Stars.

[See Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1227n.7.]

18a. The parrot came out of the wood,

With a golden helmet on its head.—Pineapple.

18b. The parrot came out of the wood,

With a golden helmet on its head;

If the parrot wills—

He can ruin the earth.—Plough.

18c. The parrot came out of the wood,

With a red cap on its head.—Onion.

- 18d. The parrot came out of the wood,
With a red handkerchief on its head.—Onion.
- 18e. The parrot came out of the wood,
With a red turban on its head.—Spathe of a plantain tree.

C. COMPARISONS TO AN ANIMAL (19-23)

19. A sheep with a black face leaps upside down on the finger ;
when it takes a plunge into the well, it communicates the
secrets of the heart noiselessly.—Pen.
JAS/Beng., LXX, 1901, p. 50.
20. My father has a donkey
Every time it brays, smoke comes out of its mouth.—Gun.
[My fader hab a donkey, an' eb' ry bray him bray fire.—Gun.
Taylor, Eng. Riddles, 436.]
21. The mare of king's house.
But she becomes old after giving birth to one child only.—
Plantain tree.
22. The cow in the king's house looks "pit-pit-pit"
It has eaten peppers of nearly one thousand rupees ;
Still it wants to eat.—Grinding stone.
23. When the black cow roars,
All the world trembles.—Earthquake.

D. COMPARISONS A PERSON. (24-68)

24. A black maiden walks across the sky.
She pours water from her pitcher.—Cloud.
25. A golden lady is walking on the sky,
With a golden helmet on her head.—Sun.
[The woman stood up/On top of the hill and looked west-
ward./And she will live for thousands of year.—Sun.
Hull and Taylor, Irish Riddles, 204.]
26. A hunter came out of the forest with a stick in his backside
and a load on his head.—Pineapple.
[A monk with a stick in his backside.—An olive.
Taylor, Eng. Riddles, 632-649 n. 20.
Who goes to market, his foot in his backside?—An apple.
Ibid., 632-644n. 19.]

27. A lady with a crown
Has eyes all over her body.—Pineapple.
[A lady with a crown has eyes everywhere.—Pineapple.
Starr, *Filipino Riddles*, 141.]
28. A maiden became a mother;
When her children became older and beautiful—
They threw away their clothes.—The plantain tree and banana.
[The virgin gave birth to a child and threw away the blanket.
starr, *Filipino Riddles*, 257.]
29. A man is talking
A man is walking
A man is laughing...in a box.—Gramophone or radio.
30. A mother becomes a daughter and a daughter becomes a
mother.—Ice and water.
[What mother a child doth beget,/ he of it is gotten again.—
Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1007a, 1007b.]
- 31a. An old man is walking with his load on his back.—Snail.
- 31b. The old man always walks with his hut on his shoulder,
Same.
[Who is he that runneth through the hedge and his house
on his back?
—Same; Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 727. See also Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*; 230, 231; Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*,
54, 55.]
32. A red colored man has six feet;
If you cut his belly, still he walks.—Ant.
[As I was going over London bridge,/I met three kinds of
men,/Some was brown, and some was black.—Ants.
Taylor, *English Riddles*, 892. See also 83.]
33. A red woman with a black spot on her face;
He who can guess this riddle—
Is the worthy son of a father.—Kunch, (a red and black seed
of a shrub, used as a weight by a goldsmith.)
34. A silvery lady is walking across the sky
Sometimes she becomes smaller and dies.—Moon.
35. A thief without a foot came and stole a cow without a tail and
- 31—

stole a man without a head.—A snake catching a frog and a crab. *JAS. Beng., LXX*, (1901), p. 36.

36. A white lady has a light on her head.

As the light burns, the lady grows shorter.—Candle.

[Little miss Etticoat/In a white petticoat/And a red nose ;/
The longer she sits/The shorter she grows.—Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 607.

Little red ridin' coat,/The longer she lives,/The shorter she grows—Same. *Ibid.* 619.

The longer something lives the shorter it gets,—Same. *Ibid.*, 630.

A small white lady ; the longer she is in the world, the smaller becomes. — Same. Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*, 98.

37. During the day she is naked ;

At night she wears her skirt.—Mosquito curtain on a bed.

[During the day she is naked, but at night she puts 'on her skirt.—Same. Starr, *Filipino Riddles*, 144.

38. God has made the house ; there is no door ;

One man is sitting there without any food ;

When the man becomes strong.

He breaks the house into pieces.—Egg.

[There is a white house on the hill up yonder without a window, without a door ; and yet somebody lives in there —Same. Taylor. *Eng. Riddles*, 1134.

39. Half gives light to the world.—Moon.

[What is the half that gives the most light to the world ?
The half of the moon. Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 510.]

40. He salutes the sun when he is born ;

He bows his head down when he dies.—The spathe of a plantain. •

41. I am black,

Yet I educate the world.—Ink and print.

[The land was white, and the sea (seed) was black./It will take a riddler to tell me that.—Paper and ink.

Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1063].

42. I am a black man and I live in a tree ; if I sing, everyone listens to me. I am a black man and I live in a tree; if I sing, everyone throws stones on me.—A cuckoo and a crow.
43. I brought a white lady to my house ; when I tried to remove her clothes, my tears came out.—Garlic.
(I bought a thing I wished to use; when I tried to use it my tears fell.—Onion.
Starr, *Filipino Riddles*, 399.)
44. If I run—it also runs.
If I walk—it also walks.
If I sit—it also sits.
If I sleep—it also sleeps...what is it ?—Shadow.
(Some t'in' follów you ev'whey you go.—Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 113.
If I catch, it catches ; if I run away it chases me.—Same.
Starr, *Filipino Riddles*, 333.)
45. In her childhood she wears her clothes ;
In her adolescence she is naked.
When she reaches old age, she wears her hair long.—Bamboo.
JAS/Beng. LXX, (1901), p. 42.
46. It is silen when on the bench ;
It is talkative when on the fire.—Kettle.
(What sings morning, noon, and night,/And when the fire's out, shuts up tight ?—Same.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 754.
47. I went to the forest and called my friend by name,
Everytime I called, another man mocked me.—Echo.
48. It is neither my flesh nor my bone,
Yet with me it walks on.—Shadow.
('T's neither flesh nor bone/Yet it passes on,/By which is fairly shewn.—Same.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 265.
49. A little gentleman is lying on the table;
He does not eat any thing; he does not drink any thing;
When I dip his head in the well, he cntinues to work on and on.—Pen.

(My small bare servant is lying by the well;/His head (is) as bare, bare as the work,/He does not eat bread, and he does not drink milk;/He does not do a jot until I put him down into the well.—Pen. Hull and Taylor *Irish Riddles*, 264.)

50. Look at my face—I am laughing.
Look at my face—I am talking.
Look at my back—I am nothing.—Mirror.
(Look in my face,—I am somebody;/Look in by back, I am nobody.—Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddls*, 825-826.)
51. Mother is pregnant.
Her son has spread an unbrella over her.—Betel-nut tree.
52. On a little plant,
The beautiful bride dances.—Pepper.
(Little Miss Nancy likes to dance and dance so rough. --Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 694.)
53. One black woman is dancing in the sky;
She plays a shrill bugle;
Her gown sparkles.—Cloud, thunder and lightning.
54. One head and one hand;
With it I can spoil the king's palace;
I can smash the whole world.—Hammer.
(What has a head on it,/And a mogen in its middle ? A man drives it head to head,/And its beating is fierce./ Guess.—Same. Hull and Taylor. *Welsh Riddles*, 261.)
- 55a. One hump-backed;
The hump-backed catches the dead;
The dead catches the living. Fish—Hook.
- 55b. A hump-backed king.
He dives into the water
And catches the mighty fiends.—Same.
56. She is a most beautiful woman. She is often with the fortunate. She makes her husband ride upon herself ; she rides on men.—Palki or palanquin—conveyance used by rich men. *JAS/Beng.*, LXX, (1901), p. 50.
57. Soil upward ;
Soil downward ;

In the middle laughs the beautiful bride.--Turmeric.

(Below is the earth, above is the earh, in the middle is a beautiful girl.--Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1105-1106. 4.)

58. Soil upward.

Soil down ward.

In the middle laughs the bald-headed pahlowan (wrestler).
—Potato.

59. Ten thousand busy men are working;

Ten thousand busy men are singing;

If you go to them, they will bite you.--Beehive.

(Way over yonder, in yonder flat/I saw ten thousand workin'
in that./Some wore green coats, some wore black./Come,
good scholar, an'unriddle that.—Bugs of some kind. Taylor,
Eng. Riddles, 948a.

Behind the king's kitchen there is a great vat,/And a great
many workmen working at that. Yellow is their toes, yellow
is their clothes./Tell me this riddle and you can pull my
nose.--Bees making honey. *Ibid*, 947.

60. The giant has become angry (no body knows why);

He comes roaring over the land.

All the kings of the world.

Have failed to pacify his anger.--Storm.

(Arthur O'Bower has broken his hand;/He comes roaring
up the land;/ The king of Scots, with all his power,/Cannot
turn Arthur of the Bower.--Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 762a;
see also 762b.)

61. The giant has made a bridge but without any pillar.--
Waterspout.

65. The king's son plays;

The king's son walks;

But after one month he dies.--Moon.

(What is it that has always been/And is yet but a month
old.—Same. Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*, 4. See also Tay-
lor, *Eng. Riddles*, 89; 798 n. 1.)

63. The music drops from the Heaven,

But who is playing ?--Thunder.

64. The player dropped from Heaven,
With a top spinning on his hand.--Earthquake.
- 65a. The poor girl lives under the earth;
And wears torn clothes.
The barber does not touch her.
The washerman does not clean her clothes,
But still she remains clean.--Garlic.
- 65b. She is the daughter of a king.
And wears a thousand pieces of clothing tied round her
with knots.—Same. *JAS/Beng.* LXX, (1901), p. 42.
66. Two running.
Two hanging.
Two guiding...--Legs, hands and eyes.
(Two walking, two dangling, one smiling, two sneezing,
two peeping, two sheltering.--Man. Swedish; Taylor, *Eng. Riddils*, 1476-1494 n. 5; p. 613.)
67. Uncle cooks, uncle eats;
But when we come he closes the door.--Snail.

E. COMPARISONS TO SEVERAL PERSONS (68-76)

68. A man comes and goes continuously; he gives birth to
four sons every day. Each of these four has four wives.
He who can guess this riddle is a wise man.--A day, having
four parts (prahars); each prahar consists of four hours,
JAS/Beng. LXX, (1901), p. 57.
69. An old lady has twelve sons.
Some are warm; some are cold;
Twelve sons have three hundred and sixty five children,
Some are long some are short.--Year.
(There is a fine suitable little woman coming into our
country, /Twelve sons (she has) and they of the same father, /
And three hundred grandchildren and sixty and five, /If
you can name her, tell me.--Same.
Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*. 127.)
70. I have ten score children;
They all die in winter.--Tree.

(In spring. I am gray in attire,/In summer. I wear more clothing than in spring./In winter I am naked.--Same Taylor, *Eng Riddles*, 587.

I went through the wood,/And I saw the greatest wonder ever: I saw the little children dying of old age/And their father and mother young enough.—Same. Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*, 129; see also 128.)

- 71a. Its mother lives in water and its father lives in the sky. If you ask for old specimens of it, I can send them; if you want a new one, it can be had in the month of Kartic.—Pearl; (see notes).
- 71b. Its mother lives on a cow's head and its father lives in the sky.—Gorocana; (see notes).
- 71c. Its mother lives in bamboo and father lives in the sky.—Bamsalocana; (see notes).

NOTES: Hindu mythology says that the God Chandra (Moon) has seven wives, and one of them is *Svati asterism*, which is in the ascendent in the month of Kartic (October-November). Hindus believe that if rain drops fall in an oyster during this time, the rain drops become pearls. This belief was also current among the Romans, as is evident by allusion in the works of the naturalists Pliny and Dioscorides. It is also held by the Tamils, who have a saying that "a rain drop that falls in an oyster becomes, a pearl" There is belief also that if a rain drop falls on an elephant's head, turns into an elephant's pearl (*gajamati*); if on a plantain, into *camphor* if on a bamboos, into *bamsalocana*, and if on a cow's head into *gorocana*. Bamsalocana is the silicious matter found in the joints of the female bamboos; it is used in medicine. Gorocana is a bright yellow pigment found in the heads of cows. See *JAS/Beng.* LXX, (1901), p. 25.

72. I went to a country, and there I saw the dead carrying the living over the water.--Boat.
(Dead carry the living over Napoleon's grass-piece.--Ship. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 828.)
73. Mother sometimes becomes daughter, and daughter again

becomes mother.--Salt and water.

74. Ten thousand black men filled the room;
I called a white man and they all fled away.—Light in
a dark room.
75. Two black brothers live side dy side, yet they cannot see
each other.—Eyes.
(Two brothers on one side of the road,/And yet they cannot
see each other. --Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1003.)
76. With continual moving father became exhausted; yet he did
not move a single yard, but his children moved hundred
and thousands of miles.
—The pottor's wheel; children are earthen pots
which are sold far and wide.

JAS/Beng. LXX, (1901), p. 44.

F. COMPARISONS TO A PLANT (77-80)

77. The cotton tree which points to the sky has but one joint.—
Hookah.
78. There is a tree somewhere.
It has twelve trunks.
And three hundred and sixty-five branches.—Year.
(Younder stands a tree of honor, /Twelve limbs grow upon
her ; /Every limb a different name. /It would take a wise
man to tell you the same.—Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*,
1037-1038.)
79. The tree in the king's house looks pit-pit-pit
It has eaten pepper of nearly one thousand rupees ;
Still it wants to eat.—Grinding stone.
80. Reeds on this bank of the river—
Reeds on that bank of the river ;
And they quarrel always.—Eyelids.

G. COMPARISONS TO A THING (81-99)

81. A beautiful palace without a door.—Egg.
(My father have a house, without window or door.—Same.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1132.
A little white house, well shaped without doors or windows.—
Same. *Ibid.*, 1133.)

82. A little red house is surrounded by two groups of white people ;
One red man is always opening and closing the door.—
Mouth, teeth, tongue.
[A little red house surrounded by two white galleries/
And a little red man standing inside of it.—Mouth and teeth.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1148.
Little red house/
With white fence allaround it,
Door keeps opening and shutting.—Tongue and teeth.
Ibid., II49a.]
83. A loaf is hanging in the sky,
If you can bring it, I will give you one hundred rupees
---Moon.
84. A small sparkling pond.
If you drop any particle into it, everything is spoiled. --Eyes.
[My father got a tank in his yard, don't care how the
rain come never catch water; but soon as little dirt get
into it, it full---Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1176.]
85. A small, white, neat and clean room ;
If the golden vessel breaks, there is nobody in the world
to repair it. ---Egg.
86. A strange potter has made a golden fruit;
It has many pearls in it. ---Pomegranate.
87. A red stick is buried in the ground. --Sweet potato.
88. In an assembly of people is situated a wooden pillar.
Some offer it, some are offered and some ask for it.—
Hookah. *JAS / Beng.* LXX, (1901), p. 46.
89. I threw the plate from here.
It went all the way to the sea. ---Sunbeam.
[What goes to London and strikes every house? --Same.
Hull and Taylor, *Wlesh Riddles*, 21.]
90. I went to a country and, there I saw a tree. It had a
loaf and a glass of water. ---Cocoanut.
[I send a boy fah somet'ing to eat fah a penny, an' he
brought me food an' drink fah dat penny. ---Same.

Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1239b.]

91. My father has a house;
 He goes out with that house in sun and shower,
 The house has but one pillar. ---Umbrella.
 [My fader had a house standin' only on one pos'. --Same.
 Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*. 1121c; see also 1121a, b, d, e, f, g,
 1122a, b, and c.]
92. My father went to a country and bought a stick.
 In the stick we found five glasses of sweet drinks. --- Sugar
 cane.
 [A long stick, juicy and sweet, and smooth back.---Same.
 Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1109.]
93. No fire on the hill,
 But still there is smoke.—Fog.
 [Smoke on a mountain without fire.—Same. Hull and
 Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 301]
- 94a. One little house,
 But it is always white-washed.
 If you can guess this riddle, I will give you a thousand
 rupees.---Egg.
- 94b. A white house without a door.—Same.
95. Sky above, sky below; water and loaf in the middle.—Cocoanut.
 [Sky above, sky below, water in the middle.—Same. Starr,
Filipino Riddles, 120.]
96. The king's red house is full of bullets.—Papaya.
 [Santa Ana's house is full of bullets.—Same. Starr, *Filipino
 Riddles*, 136,
97. The king's red house is full of swords.—Watermelon.
 [Santa Maria's house is surrounded by swords.—Pineapple.
 Starr, *Filipino Riddles* 139.]
98. The tank sparkles;
 The edge is fancy,
 If you can't guess this riddle,
 Your wife's nose will be cut off.—Mirror.
99. Water of two colors in a single white china pot.—Egg.
 [Wine and brandy in one barrel, and yet they do not mix,
 —Same. Taylor. *Eng. Riddles*, 1140 n, 14; see also n, 12,
 13, 15 and 16.]

H. ENUMERATIONS OF COMPARISONS (100)

100a. A King's son is lying dead—there is nobody to mourn !
The big garden of the king is lying uncared—there is nobody to tend it.
So many flowers are lying in bloom—there is nobody to pluck them !—Moon, sky and stars.

100b. A beautiful princess is sleeping alone;
Princes cannot reach her.
A beautiful garden is laughing with flowers;
The gardener cannot reach it !—Same.

I. ENUMERATIONS IN TERMS OF FORMS AND FUNCTION (100-109)

101. A creeper can grow without any seeds, fruit or flower.—Betel-leaves.

102. A little white thing has come from Karachi (city);
A little white thing has come from Dacca (city);
The other man is speaking within it.—Letter.
[What goes from here to London, full of talk, without saying anything?—Same. Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*, 23.
I am foolish and still not foolish. /I'm covered all over with dark spots. /No principal or teacher, /I can make every one in the world talk without saying a single word.—Book.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 760. See also notes, p. 276.]

103. It is here, it is there;
We cannot live without it for a single minute.—Air.

104. It hangs on high;
Its color is green; its flesh is as sweet as honey;
You eat it only in the summer.—Mango fruit.

105. It is not outside of the house;
It is not inside of the house, yet every house has it.—Door or window.
[It isn't in/And 't isn't out/And the house can't do without it.—Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1423.]

106. It is a triangular body;
It lives in the pond;
It has milk in it.—“Panifal”; water chestnut ; a fruit that grows in the water.
107. Ivory and leaves of kadamda.—Radish, (kadamba is a big tree with broad leaves.)
108. Rough leaves, silver branches, sweet liquid ;
If you can guess this riddle,
You are the worthy son of your father.—Sugarcane.
109. What is it that you keep in your pitcher,
But, if the pitcher breaks, runs without foot ?—Water.
[What runs without foot ?—Same.
Taylor notes, *Eng. Riddle*, p. 88.]

J. ENUMERATIONS IN TERMS OF COLOR (110-114)

110. A seven colored bridge
Without any pillar. —Rainbow.
[A bridge on the lake without stick and without stone.
—Same.
Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 305, See also Taylor, *Eng. Riddles* 1570].
111. It is black and it is white ;
It knows everything about the world ;
It goes from Dacca (city) to Calcutta (city).—Newspaper.
[Black and white and red all over, /Goes from Halifax to Dover.—Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1499.
It is black and it is white and it gives news to the men of Ireland—Same. Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 392].
112. My body is thin; I spit black, blue or red; all the learned men like me.—Pen.
- 113a. Three ladies went to cave; one was green, another white and the other red. When they came out all were red.—The betelnuts, green betel, white chunam (lime) and red khar.
- 113b. It is green like a parrot, brown like a swallow and white

like a heron ; the man who brings this, is my beloved.
—Same.

JAS/Beng. LXX, (1901), p. 44.

[There are three ladies who went to mass ; the dress of one was green, of another white, of other red ; when they came out together the dresses of all were red.—Same.

Starr, Filipino Riddles, 18.]

114. When I sit idly I am black ;
When I am kindled I am red ;
After that I am white.—Coal.

K. ENUMERATIONS IN TERMS OF ACTS (115-130)

115. A houseful
A yardful
A bazaarful—
Yet you cannot take a spoonful.—Smoke.
[A houseful,/A yardful,/Couldn't catch a bowlful,—Same.
Taylor, Eng. Riddles; 1643a ; for other interesting variations see 1643b--1643v.]
- 116a. A plate makes magic ; a plate makes magic ;
It has caught fire at Brindaban ; who can extinguish it ? —
Sunbeam.
- 116b. A plate makes music ; a plate makes music ;
It has caught fire on the mountain ; who can extinguish
it ?—Same.
117. A silver moon goes from hand to hand ; it makes the poor
man rich.—Money.
[Something goes from hand to hand, and has no owner.—
Same. *Taylor, Eng. Riddles*, 1605
118. A strange milkman made curd
But without any milk.—Chunam (lime used with betel).
119. Boom, boom, boom !
Music drops from the Heaven ;
Who has seen the singer ? —Thunder.
120. If he sits, he is high ;
If he stands, he is low.—Cat or dog.
[If he sits down he is high ; if he stands up he is low. — Dog.
Starr, Filipino Riddles, 6.]

121. I have,
 You have,
 Mother has
 Father has
 All the people have
 Yet you cannot keep it more than five minutes.—Breath.
 [What is that which you cannot hold ten minutes, although
 it is as light as a feather? Same.
 Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1660.
 Same—Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 455.]
122. I have a thing—
 I keep it in my pocket ;
 I can destroy the whole of Calcutta (city) with it.
 But it dies with a little bit of water.—Match.
123. I threw it from here ;
 It went to Mecca (a city in Arabia) within a second.—Sight.
124. I was born in the sea ;
 Now I live in the house (of men);
 If my mother touches me,
 I die immediately.—Salt.
 [Something live in water/Still water kill it.—Same.
 Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*. 1008.]
125. It has caught fire at Calcutta (city),
 But smoke is coming out from Dacca (city).—Hookah.
- 126a. I see it here; I see it there; but I don't see it now;
 What shall I say to the king?—Lightning.
- 126b. It is here, it is there, but even if you give a hundred
 rupees, you cannot get it.—Same.
127. Open me and I am a home.
 Close me and I am a stick.—Umbrella.
128. You have, I have, everybody has. It is always with us. It is
 not heavy. It is neither flesh nor blood nor bodily thing.—
 Your name.
 [It is on you, and you do not deem it heavy. It is not
 your soul; nor your body, nor any part of your living
 limb, and nevertheless it is on you.—Same.
 Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 432.]
129. What a hammer cannot break,

What fire cannot burn,

I open within a minute.—Key.

[What force or strength cannot get through,/I, with gentle touch, can do;/ And many in the street could stand,/Were I not, as a friend, at hand.—Same. Taylor, *Eng. Riddles* 705.]

130. What my poor father throws away,
Kings put in their pockets.—Nasal mucus or snout.
[Riddle, riddle rocket;/What does a poor man throw 'away,
a rich man puts in his pocket?—Snot.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1724. See also 1724b-d.]

L. COMPARISONS WITH CONTRADICTIONS (131—137)

131. Hard as rock but rock it is not;
White as milk but milk it is not;
Sweet as bread but bread it is not.—Cocoanut.
[Hard as rock, not rock; white as milk, not milk.—Same.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1358.]
132. It has a green back, yet it is not a peacock; it has a
long tail yet it is not monkey; and it has four feet yet
it is not a horse.—Garden-lizard.
JAS/Beng. LXX (1901), p. 34.
133. It hums like a bee, but bee it is not;
It has a sacred thread on its neck,
But a Brahmin it is not.—Spinning wheel.
134. It is not blood, it is not bone.
It is not flesh, it is not skin,
Yet all men have it with them.—Hair.
[It is not blood, it is not flesh, and it is not bone; and
yet it is in a man.—Same.
Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 397.]
135. It looks like a bird, but bird it is not.
It looks like an animal, but animal, it is not. What is
it?—Bat.
136. It looks like an ivory. but ivory it is not.
It looks like kadamba-leave, but kadamba-leave it is not.
It grows under the earth, but potato it is not.—Radish.
137. Neither dog nor cat.
It walks without legs.—Snail.

[Something movin' without a leg.—Same.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 261. See also 264.]

M. WITTY QUESTIONS (138—181)

How ?

138. A man wants to get across a river in a boat. He has with him one goat and a packet of betel. If he takes the goat and betel together, the goat will eat it. How can he get across?—First goat and then betel.

How Large...?

139. How large is the world?—Nine hundred thousand nine hundred and nine miles; if you don't believe it, you can go and measure.

[This riddle has been coined from a popular folktale. Once upon a time, there was a king in a certain country. One day he asked all the learned pandits (scholars) in his court to tell him about the largeness of the world. But all the pandits failed to answer the question. The king granted only seven days time, after which, if they failed, they would be put on a sula (impaling). All the pandits racked their brain and consulted all possible mythologies, but to no purpose. There was a half literate but cunning man in the country; on the seventh day he wrapped a broken foot of a cot with red cloth (which is usually used for wrapping valuable religious books and manuscripts) and went to the king's court. He answered to the question that it was written in his most valuable KHATTANGA PURANA (Mythology of the broken foot of a cot) that the length of the world was nine hundred thousand, nine hundred and nine miles ; if anybody would disagree, he challengrd them to go and measure the earth. (Type-922), informant, Bachu Miah—see informants]

How Many ?

140. How many hairs have you on your head ?—Seven thousand seven hundred and seven; if you don't believe it, you can count them.

141. How many stars are there in the sky?—Nine millions, nine thousand and nine ; if you don't believe it, you can count them.
142. With how many legs will a dog run on when it is dead ?
---When dead, how can it run ?

What.. ?

143. What disease caused the horse to die?—Horse disease.
[This riddle is also based on a popular tale. One day a man keeping his horse under the care of a person went to some places. The caretaker was nothing but a cheat. After some days when the man came and asked for his horse, the caretaker answered that his horse died. When the man pressed him to show the dead body of the same, he showed him the remaining skeleton of a dead cow which had horn. Being asked by the man about the possibility of the existence of the horns of his horse, the caretaker answered that that was the disease which caused the horse to die. (Motif-J 1180.) A. Bhattacharjee, *Banglar Lokasahityā*, 418.)
144. What is God's voice?—Everybody's voice.
145. What is superior to heaven—Mother (and motherland.)
146. What is that ? Everybody calls me by one thing,
Put I don't require that for my own.—Name.
[What belongs to yourself, yet is used by everybody more than yourself?—Same.
Taylor, *Eng. Riddles*, 1582a ; see also 1582b--d.]
147. What is that ? I see it but you don't see it. It is just over your head.--Hair.
148. What is that ?
I see,
You see,
Mother sees,
Father sees;
The kings see with them --
Yet we ourselves cannot see them.--Eyes.
149. What is that for which I wait,
You wait,

Mother waits,
 And father waits,
 But it does not wait for anyone?---Time.

150. What is the main religion of the student ?---Study.

151. What is the supreme religion ?---Nonviolence.

152. What spoiled the weaver ?---Greediness.

[Another folktale motif.

A poor weaver wove a cloth. With a hookah (waterpipe) on his hand he was dreaming that he would sell the cloth in the market and get some money; with that money he would buy one hen ; the hen would produce chickens, and after selling those chickens he would buy a cow ; the cow would give milk and produce calves from which he would become rich and ultimately would marry a princess. When he was dreaming and shaking his head in a state of emotion, unfortunately, fire fell from the top of his hookah and it burned the cloth and entire house. (Type—1430). Informant: A. Rahman.]

153. What spoils relationship?—Repeated visits to relative's house.

154. What is woman's weapon?—Her tongue.

155. What will you attend after your tenth year?—Eleventh year.

[Where did the Son of God go when He was nine years (old)?—Tenth year.

Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 591.]

What....with Comparative

156. What is heavier: one ton of iron or one ton of cotton?—Same.

157. What is like just half of the moon?--Other half of the moon.

[What is like half of the moon?—Same.

Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 559.]

158. What is the difference between a school master and a station-master ? —A school master trains the mind and a station-master minds the trains.

What...with Superlative

159. What is the sweetest place in this vain world ?—Father-in-law's house.

160. What is the sweetest word in the world ?—Mother.

[What are the sweetest words in the Welsh language ?

—Mother, home and Heaven.

Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*, 396. See parallel, 145.]

What First... ?

161. What is the first thing that I put here when I arrived ?—Foot.

[What is the first thing that Adam put in the Garden of Eden ? —His feet. Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 619.]

What Two...?

162. What two spoil the face and character ? - Pimple and poverty.

What Three...?

163. What three are not allies ?—Snake, brother-in-law and landlord ; or death, son-in-law and nephew.

Where...?

164. Where were you when you were not born ?—In mother's womb.

Which...?

165. Which is that thing, that was, and will never come again?—Yesterday or past.

Who...?

166. Who are the four brothers who have existed from the beginning ?—East west, north and south.

167. Who always beats the iron for money ?—Blacksmith.

[Who always strikes for wages ?—Same.

Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*, 430.]

168. Who is it that cooks all the rice (food) of the country ? —Fire.

[Who is it that bakes all the bread in county Limerick and county Clare ?—Same.

Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 594.]

169. Who is expert in three : sleeping, eating and losing his temper?—Worthless.

Whimsical Arithmetical Problems...

170. A man had ten rupees (money); he spent two rupees for buying something ; the others he lost out of his pocket. What remained in his pocket?—A hole.
[If in the beginning you had five pennies in your pocket and say that you spent two of them and that you lost the other three out of your pocket, what would you then have in your Pocket?—Same.
Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 675.]
171. One hundred birds were on the tree. I shot and two fell under the tree ; how many remained?—Not a single; they all flew with the sound.
[Five birds were on the tree : the fowler shot at them and saw two fall ; how many were there on the tree? —Same.
Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*, 308.]

Riddles Dealing with Family Relationship...

172. A brother of my father has a brother. He is not my uncle. Who is he ?—My father.
[A question that a rustic put on a priest...“A brother of my father had a brother,/And that one was not an uncle of mine”—Same. Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 630.]
173. The captain and his wife went to a party. The commander was there. The sister of the commander was there. Three loaves were served. Each of them got one. How?—The captain's wife was the commander's sister.
[The doctor and his wife were there./The priest and his sister were there./Only three loaves were served,/And yet each had a loaf. —The doctor had married the priest's sister.
Hull and Taylor, *Irish Riddles*, 645b.]
174. Who is that boy going by? I have neither sister nor any brother. But he is the son of my father's son.—His own son.
[Who is that in the picture ?/I myself never had a brother

or a sister./But my own father's son is father to that one.—It was a picture of his own son.—
Hull and Taylor. *Irish Riddles*, 633.]

Arithmetical Riddles ?

175. A boy before a boy,
A boy behind a boy,
A boy between a boy.. how many ?—Three boys.
[A goose before a goose, a goose behind a goose, and between every two geese a goose. How many were there?—Three. Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*, 295.]
176. Two hands ten fingers two feet eyes and nose. What is that?—Seems like measurement but actually the answer is a “man”.
177. Two cowboys were driving cattle. The second man had more cattle than the first. The first man told him, “If you give me one of yours, we will be equal”. How many each of them had?—First cowboy had one and second had three.

Biblical or Quranic Riddles...

178. What is higher than the sky?—Heaven or reputation.
What is deeper than the sea?—Hell or sin.
[See Motherwell's Mss. '*Riddles wisely expounded*.' p. 647.]
179. What two have died who had no father or mother ?—Adam and Howa (Adam and Eve).
[What two have died who were not born?—Same.
Hull and Taylor, *Welsh Riddles*, 456].

Puns and Plays on Letters....

180. A woman had Saita (sixty) husband; all people thought and thought; how a woman can have sixty husbands?—The name of husband was *Saita* which means sixty in Bengali.
181. One Soa (lying or $1\frac{1}{4}$) jackal is on this bank of the river; one Soa (lying or $1\frac{1}{4}$) jackal is on of the other bank of the river.. How many?—Two lying jackals,

**FROM RIDDLES TO PROVERB :
AN INTERESTING STUDY :**

We will try to give some instances of proverb-riddles which are interesting and of immense importance to the folklorists. It seems that original riddles have been changed to proverbs in the later ages as a general train of folklore.

1. The mare of king's house ; but she becomes old after giving birth to one child only. (Riddle—Plantain tree.)
[Proverb—When married couple after giving birth to one child do not produce any more child.]
2. Uncle cooks, uncle eats but when we go, he closes the door. (Riddle—Snail.)
[Proverb—Shows the miserly attitude of the uncles (maternal) towards the nephews.]
3. Mother becomes daughter and daughter becomes mother. (Riddle—Ice and water.)
[Proverb—In the old age mother becomes like a daughter; daughter helps her always with motherly affection.]
4. I am black yet I educate the world. (Riddle—Ink or print.)
[Proverb—Don't disregard black things or black people or insignificant objects.]
5. At day she (he) is naked; at night she (he) wears her (his) skirt (dress.) (Riddle—Mosquito curtain.)
[Proverb—He who does not use things properly.]
6. Hard as rock but rock it is not ; white as milk but milk it is not ; sweet as bread but bread it is not. (Riddles—Cocobnut.)
[Proverb—Money-lender.]
7. Two black brothers live side by side yet they can't see each other. (Riddle—Eyes.)
[Proverb—Two brothers ; brothers usually cannot live peacefully in the same house.]
8. King's house is full with swords. (Riddle—Watermelon.)
[Proverb—Don't go to quarrel with the kings, even if they are unjust.]
9. The parrot came out from the wood with a golden helmet on his head. (Riddle—Pine apple.)

[Proverb—When a relative comes to one's house after a long time.]

10. King's house is full with bullets. (Riddle—Papaya.)

[Proverb—Don't go to quarrel with the kings even if they be autocrat.]

11. Rough the body but its sweet flesh in a leaf-cup. (Riddle—Jack-fruit.)

[Proverb—Don't underestimate a thing from its appearance.]

12. If I run, it also runs; if I walk it also walks; if I sit, it also sits; if I sleep, it also sleeps. (Riddle—Shadow.)

(Proverb—A simpleton, who only follows others.]

13. He salutes the sun when he goes up; he salutes the earth when he tumbles down. (Riddle—The spathe of a plantain tree.)

[Proverb—Opportunist; a man without personality.]

CHANDRA KINGS OF PATTIKERA AND ARAKAN

Syed Murtaza Ali

1. Arakan is separated from Burma by a long deep range of mountains—the Arakan Yoma—through which there are only two serviceable passes. The Arakanese of to-day are basically Burmese with an unmistakeable Indian admixture. Although Buddhists, they have been influenced by long centuries of contact with Muslim India. Buddhism seems to have reached Arakan long before its arrival into the interior of Burma. Burmese do not seem to have settled in Arakan until the 10th century. A. D. Earlier dynasties are thought to have been Indian ruling over a population similar to that of Bengal.¹ Arākān inscriptions show a Chandra dynasty holding sway from 370 A. D.

Devenchandra	370-425	A. D.	55 years.
Rajachandra	425-445	„	20 „
Kalachandra	445-454	„	9 „
Devachandra	454-476	„	22 „
Yajñachandra	476-483	„	7 „
Chandrabandhu	483-489	„	6 „
Bhumichandra	489-496	„	7 „
Bhutichandra	496-520	„	24 „
Nitichandra	520-575	„	55 „
Vira or Viryachandra	575-578	„	3 „
Pritichandra	578-590	„	12 „
Prithvichandra	590-597	„	7 „
Dhriti chandra	597-600	„	3 „

(Epigraphica Indica July 1957)

This list, however, does not agree with the list given by Phayre. Johnstone thinks that the bell inscription at Vesali was of a period not later than 650 A. D.² According to that view the rule of Dhritichandra ended on 700 A. D.

1. A history of south-east Asia by D. G. E. Hall.

2. Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies 1943-46.

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After Dhritichandra the power of Chandra kings declined and Mahavira, king of Pureppura, became king of Arakan (Vesali)¹.

2. The name of Pattikera was not known to historians. Hence even Harvey² considered Pattikera or Pattikeya to be the Chin Hills.

The earliest reference to Pattikera occurs in a manuscript “অষ্টা সাহস্রিক প্রজ্ঞা পরিমিতা” preserved in Cambridge University Library. This Mss copied in 1015 A. D. contains a picture of a sixteen-armed goddess with label “Pattikera Chunda Varabhavane Chunda”. It proves that early in the 11th century image of Buddhist goddess Chunda in Pattikera was widely known. According to Hmanan the Kingdom of Anoratha, king of Pagan (1044-77), was bounded on the west by Pattikera the country of the Kalas (foreigners).

The inscription of Ranavankamalla (1220 A. D.) proves the existence of Pattikera. It records grant of land by Ranavankamalla Srī Harikāladeva in favour of a Buddhist monastery built in the city of Pattikera. This is the last reference about Pattikera

The first historical Chandra king of Pattikera known to us is Purna Chandra. The geneology of his successors according to Dr. Dani is given below :-

Purna Chandra
|
Suvarna Chandra
|
Trailokya Chandra = Sir Kanchana
|
Srichandra
|
Kalyan Chandra = Kalyan Dev
|
Ladaha Chandra
|
Govinda Chandra

1. Kirata-Jana-Kirti JASB 1950

2. Outline of Burmese history p. 29

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OBITUARY

Dr. Abdus Sadeque

We announce with deep regret the death of an eminent member of the Society, Dr. Abdus Sadeque, M. A. Ph. D. (London), Director of the Provincial Statistical Board of the Government of East Pakistan. He passed away (may his soul rest in peace) on Friday, the 11th August, 1961, at Dacca and is survived by his widow Dr. (Mrs.) Syadah Fatima Sadeque, two sons and a daughter.

Dr. Sadeque was born in the village Chandiber, Bhairab Bazar in the district of Mymensingh in East Pakistan in the year 1907. He obtained his Master's Degree with a first class in Economics from the University of Dacca in 1929 and joined the same University as a lecturer in that year. Later he served the then Islamia College and the Presidency College at Calcutta and the Hooghly College as professor of Economics for about 16 years. In 1946, he went to England and worked at the London School of Economics, from where, in 1948, he obtained the Ph. D. degree for his dissertation on the problems of Indian Currency, which was an important issue in those days.

On his return from England in 1949, he was appointed as the first Director of Research and Statistics, State Bank of Pakistan at Karachi and later in 1950 he joined the Government of East Pakistan as the Director of Provincial Statistical Board and the Bureau of Commercial Intelligence, where he worked until his death.

His important publications are

- (i). The Standard of Indian Currency (1938),
- (ii) The Indian Constitutional Tangle and the Way Out (1941),
- (iii) The Economic Emergence of Pakistan (1954). Besides these, he had written many other interesting papers and worked on a number of Commissions and Committees appointed by the Government from time to time.

discounted this theory and were more inclined to identify Rohitgiri with Rhotasgarh in Bihar. It was Trailokya Chandra who extended his kingdom by occupying Chandradwip, and Harikela. Chandradwip has been identified with Bakla in Barisal district. According to R. D. Bannerjee Rampal grant of Srichandra was slightly later than the Bhagalpur grant of Narayan Pala which was placed about the close of the 9th century. From Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola we fix the date of Govina Chandra at the first quarter of eleventh century. From copperplate grants we know that Srichandra was ruling for at least 40 years, Kalyan Chandra for 24 years, Ladaha Chandra for 18 years and Govinda Chandra for 23. We can therefore tentatively fix the chronology of the Chandra kings as follows.

Govinda Chandra	988-1021	A. D.
Ladaha	„	955-988
Kalyan	„	922-955
Sri	„	882-922
Trailokya	„	849-882
Suvarna	„	816-849
Purna	„	793-816

Kalyan Chandra obtained possession of Harikela overpowering the dynasty mentioned in Kantidev's inscription of 9th century. As the grants of Srichandra and Ladaha Chandra are mentioned to have been made in Pundra Vardhana Bhukti it is clear that they had some hold over North Bengal.

Very recently another copper plate of Srichandra has been found in village Paschimbag P.S. Rajnagar in the Maulvibazar Sub-division of Sylhet District. By this Srichandra made gift of land in Srihatta mandal. It thus shows that Srichandra had dominion over Sylhet also. The donated land was in Chandra Pari Visaya. It may be pointed out that donated land in the Nidhanpur plate of Bhaskar Varman was also in Chandrapuri Visaya. The discovery of the copper plate of Srichandra therefore supports the theory of Bhattasali that the donated land in the Nidhanpur plate was located in Sylhet and not north Bengal. Srichandra was displaced by Kambojas in North Bengal. Dr. Sen also rightly conjectured that Ladaha Chandra was connected with the

Chandra dynasty of Pattikera.¹ Ladaha Chandra's name appears in the inscription in which Kusumdeva pays allegiance to him. Bhattasali thought the inscription was dated in the 18th year of Ladaha Chandra's reign. Ladaha Chandra's tributary was the ruler of Karmanta (modern Badkamta near Comilla town).

4. It Sing, the Chinese traveller of the later half of seventh century, speaks of Harikela as the Easternmost country of Eastern India. Rajsekhar in his *Karpurmanjari* refers to Harikela. Harikela is mentioned in the Chittagong copper plate of Kantideva (8th century) and Rampala copper plate of Srichanda (9th century). Harikela is mentioned in the Buddhist Tantric literature 'Manjusri Mulakalpa'. According to Foucher the image of Lokenath in Harikela was well known in the 11th century. Harikela is also mentioned in Dakarnava found in Nepal. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharjee in *Srihatta Sahitya Parishat Patrika* 1349 B. S. has pointed out that in 'Kalpadru' by Kesava Kriyasar of Basudeva Kavikankan Chakravarti, in the Mss of Rudraksha Mahatya in Dacca University Library and Rupachintamani (1515 Saka) of Jadavananda Das Kabiraj of Sylhet Harikela has been equated with Sylhet. But there is no tradition or other records in Sylhet showing that it was ever known as Harikela. It is more likely that Harikela denoted Chittagong region, South of Pattikera. Another possibility is that Harikela is the ancient name of Sarail (the biggest Pargana of Comilla District with an area of nearly 2 lac acres) which is at the border of Sylhet and was included in Sylhet during Mughal times. Sarail is the seat of an ancient Zemindar family.

Probably Chandra kings came from Arakan and reduced Harikela first by ousting the descendents of Kantidev. Later they transferred their capital to Pattikera reducing that area. Finally they occupied Dacca District and had their seat of Government at Vikrampur which was the capital during the time of their greatest glory.

5. Lama Taranath has mentioned Bala Chandra, Vimal Chandra and Gopi Chandra as kings who were ruling in lower

1. Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 374

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REVIEWS

Shams-ud-din Ahmad : *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Volume IV. Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, 1960, pp. XXVI + 338 With 59 illustrations and XX pp, of index. Rs. 25/-

The growth of epigraphy as an independent subject of sufficient scholarly interest is coincident with the establishment of the department of archaeology by the Government of India in the later half of the nineteenth century. The efforts of Ghulām Husain Salīm who claims to have utilized epigraphic data in *Riyāz* and of Sir Syed Ahmad Khān who gives the text of a good number of Indo-Muslim inscriptions in the *Āṣār-us-Sanādīd* cannot, perhaps, be divorced from the official influence that constituted now a positive factor in the cultural sphere of Indian life. H. Blochmann, A. Cunningham, Ravenshaw and Paul Horn who worked on Bengal epigraphy at its initial stage, are largely the product of this official milieu that continued to radiate creative stimuli in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since then, several Indian and Western scholars have made valuable contributions to the epigraphy of Muslim Bengal by publishing the texts, translations and illustrations of inscriptions. The genuine interests of the scholars of East Pakistan in this particular branch of knowledge is evidenced by the fact of such publications as *Bibliography of The Muslim inscriptions of Bengal* by Dr. A. H. Dani and the book under review, the latter in the nature of a comprehensive monograph included in the scholarly series of Varendra Research Society to which works like the *Gauḍa Lekha Mālā* by A. K. Maitra and *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III by N. G. Majumdar belong.

We are indebted to the author for the untiring labour he has put in systematically ordering, in the shape of the present volume, the mass of materials scattered over the pages of a number of books and scholarly journals. Divided into five chapters of inequal length, the book deals with inscriptions of an extensive

In addition to being an eminent professional economist and a prolific writer, Dr. Sadeque was deeply interested in many cultural, educational and social organisations in Pakistan, including the Asiatic Society of Pakistan of which he was the Vice-President. As a man Dr. Sadeque was extremely amiable and kind to his friends and his capacity to work for a public cause was inexhaustible. We deeply mourn his death which has caused a great loss to the country and to the Asiatic Society of Pakistan particularly.

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period of more than six centuries of Muslim rule in Bengal (1242-1855 A. D.). The epigraphic records of the pre-Suri period are distinguished by their comparative documentary value from those of the succeeding periods which, apart from exhibiting a certain amount of craziness for versification and containing the names and dates of a few historical figures, have hardly any significant information to be deduced by the serious student of history. But the inscriptions of the Ilyās Shāhī, Ḥabshī and Ḥusain Shāhī Sulṭāns are replete with references to the legal status of the ruler, the official titles of the provincial governor and the nomenclature of the administrative units into which the kingdom of Bengal might have been divided. Their importance will largely depend upon the use to which they are likely to be put by the scholars working in the field of Bengal history.

It is possible to disagree on certain points with the author. He is silent on the question of the geographical position of *Qaşba-i-Dhāḥā Khāṣ* mentioned in the Bara inscriptions of Bārbax Shāh (pp. 70-71), without taking due notice of the fact that besides the modern metropolitan city of Dacca, there is a Jaldhākā in Nilphamari Sub-division of Rangpur district. *Qaşba-i- Dhkhā khāṣ* seems to be identical with old Dhākā which has been clearly located on the map of Joao de Barros on the northern bank of a river, obviously the modern Buḍ-igangā and which was later on selected as the captial of Mughal Bengal. While Sonārgāoñ served as a great emporium of trade and commerce, Dhākā was thus a township or Qaşba over which, as evidenced by the inscription under reference, a Chief Revenue Agent or *Sargamāshṭah* was placed. On p. 127, the author has expressed his inability to identify 'Maḥarbak' of the Sātgāoñ inscription of Bārbak, which he considers to be a place-name. But this town seems to be a decorative or an official title of Ulugh Majlis -i- Nūr who was the *Sar-Lashkar* and *Wazīr* of 'arṣah Sājilā Mankhbād and the well-known city of Shīmlābād, the *Sar-lashkar* of thānah Lāoblā and the *Mihirbak* of the 'arṣah and maḥal of Hādīgrah. كى is a corrupt form of the Turkish term كى and كى means 'the Sun', Thus the

governor in the present instance has been considered to be a 'Sun-like Chief' or a 'Chief as illustrious as the Sun'. On p. 191, the expression *bak ā'lā* has been identified with Bāklā (Baqergunj) mentioned in the *Ain*. But we have no reason to think that there is any connection between the two. We are told that Rukn *Khān* 'Alā' ud-dīn Sirhatī was

شراب دار غیر محلی وزیر شہر مشہور مظفر آباد و سر لشکر و کتوال یک
اعلی شہر مشہور فیروز آباد و منصف دیوان کتوالی شہر مذکور -

"The cup-bearer outside the palace and the Wazīr of the celebrated city of Muḏafarābād, the commander-in-chief and the chief police officer (کتوال یک اعلی) of the famous city Fīrūzābād and the judge of the riminal court of the same city", Although the author gives a similar translation of the above passage following Yazdani and Blochmann, he suddenly inserts an, after یک اعلی and unexpectedly introduces in a note on p. 191, the problem of identifying یک اعلی with Baklā without adducing adequate reasons. As already shown, یک is a corruption of the Turkish term بیگ and اعلی means "the highest", Thus *Kotwal-i-bak ā'lā* indicates 'the highest police officer' and not the kotwāl of Bāklā as stated by the author. It would have been physically impossible for Rukn-ud-dīn to act as the Kotwāl of Bāklā situated in south-east Bengal and as the chief police officer of Fīrūzābād identified with Pāṇḍuā in North Bengal, the two places being so distantly situated.

It has been suggested that Bengal in the period of the independent Sulṭāns was broadly divided into two Iqlīms, the dividing line being the river Brahmaputra (p. 178). But uniformity in the nature and extent of the administrative units appears to have been quite rare in those days. It is epigraphically established that there were two Iqlīms in East Bengal, one of them being Mu'aẓẓamābād extending from the confines of Sylhet and Tipperah to Mymensingh and the other Mubārakābād mentioned only once in an inscription of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Maḥmūd I and tentatively identified by Stapleton, with pargana Mubārak Ujīāl of Sarkār Bāzuhā, (*J. A. S. B.*, 1910, 147). But similar adminis-

trative units obtaining in West or South-West Bengal were generally known a 'arsah. Thus there were 'arsas of Sātgaōñ, Sājla Man'khbād and Hādīgarh. It is possible to trace the existence of two 'arsas in East Bengal, viz, those of Sylhet and Chittagong, the former appearing in the Sylhet inscription of Husain Shāh and the latter mentioned on coins.

The first term of the third brick of Ghiyas-ud-din Āzam's inscription (p. 42) has been read as المعظم, although the illustration seems to indicate that it is الأعظم. The Champānagar inscription which the author claims to have noticed for the first time, has, as a matter of fact, been already dealt with by Prof. Hasan Askari in the *Current Studies* of Patna and by Dr. Dani in the Bibliography already mentioned by us. There is nothing to think that no historical information is available about Rāstī Khan referred to in the Hāthāzārī inscription of Bārbak. We are told by Kavindra Paramesvara and Śrīkara Nandī that his family supplied two or three governors to the Sultāns of Bengal.

The author has raised several other problems that need careful consideration. He has ascribed the Sylhet inscription of Husain Shāh to the reign of Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz probably on the ground that the upper part of the record refers to the conquest of Sylhet in 703 A. H. /1303 A. D. by one Sikander Khan Ghazi in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. Thus he has overlooked the significance of the following expression :

این عمارت رکن خان که فتح کننده هشت کامهاریان و وزیر و لشکر بوده
شهر هاوقت فتح کامرو و کامتاو جاز نگر و اریشا لشکری کرده باشند جابجا
بدنیاں بادشاه -

"This building (was constructed by) Rukn Khan, the conquest of Kāmrup Kāmtā and Jāznagar and Orissa, might have served as a soldier at several places in the chain of the king." This passage followed by the date 911/1512 leaves hardly any doubt about its belonging to the period of Husain Shāh, although the upper panels incidentally refer to the first conquest of Sylhet by the Muslims. The use of the dubious past tense in لشکری کر does not appear to be appropriate in the present context. So a textual criticism of this inscription was necessary. It is quite

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writing with these characteristics together with the arrangement of the shafts, as if in a procession, is generally known as the organpipe type of *Ṭughrā*. It was so popular that it was practiced not only on inscriptions, but also on the coins of the sultāns like Jalāl uddīn Muḥammad, Nāṣir uddīn Maḥmūd I and Bārbak Shāh.

Lapses of a strange nature abound in the book. While rendering 'Alā'-ul-Ḥaq's tomb inscription into English (p. 245), the author copies verbatim the entire passage from Abid Ali's *Memoirs of Gaur And Pandua* (p. 110) including Rodwell's translation of the *Āyat-ul Kursī* quoted by the writer of the *Memoirs* without due acknowledgement. It is possible to detect similar examples of unacknowledged borrowings of translations on pp. 61 (2nd paragraph of the tran.), 188, 201, 259, 267-68, 270, 289-90 and 295 wherein passages have been silently incorporated from pp. 116, 67, 81, 151, 123, 118, 100-101, 102, 102, 104 and 103 of Abid Ali's book. Although he mentions this author at several places, he has failed to indicate the exact nature of his indebtedness to him which could have been done either in the form of foot-notes or by putting the borrowed passages within quotation marks. There are many passages which far from being independent translations, look like mere adaptations from the papers or books of Blochmann, Yazdani, Abid Ali and others.

An inclusion of the texts of inscriptions published in *Notes on the Antiquities of Dacca* by Syed Aulad Hasan would have done at least qualified justice to Mughal period which is ill-represented in this ambitiously planned work.

The following inscriptions of the pre-Mughal period, though noticed or published by other scholars, have not been included in the book under review :

1. The Adina mosque inscription of Sikandar Shāh (J. A.-S. B., 1873, 256 and *Indo-Iranica*, IV, no. 2-4, fig. 1.) which is the only epigraphic record exhibiting Kūfic style of writing in the upper panel.

2. Aḥmad Shāh's inscription (Aulad Hasan : *Notes on the Antiquities of Dacca*, p. 55).

3. Naṣir-uddīn Maḥmūd Shāh's inscription dated 863 (Dr. Dani : *Bibliography*, 136).

4. Gaud inscription of Saif-ud-dīn Fīrūz, (Revenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 28).
5. An Un-identified inscription, perhaps of the Ḥabshī period, (J. A. S. B. 1952, p. I.)
6. Birbhum inscription dated 922 A. H. (J. A. S. B. 1861, 390).
7. Mandaran inscription dated 900 A. H., (J. A. S. B., 1917, 134),
8. Barh ins. dated 907, (Dr. Dani : *op. cit.*, p. 137-38), and
9. Bhagalpur inscription dated 912 of Ḥusain Shāh (Prof. Askari : *A Review of Bihar During the Turko Afghan Period*, Current Studies, Off-print, p. 19).
10. Ashrafpur, inscription dated 930 (Dr. Dani : *op. cit.*, 68) and
11. The Begusarai inscription of Nuṣrat Shāh (Prof. Askari, *op. cit.*, 20) and Gaud ins. of G. Maḥmūd (A. S. R. IXV, 72 and J. B. O. R. S. IV, 1186.)

It is accrimonious to go on magnifying these lapses and discrepancies which, however, do not decrease the positive value of the work. The author has succeeded in his aim of presenting a factual record of about 200 inscriptions of which 59 have been neatly illustrated. His painstaking notes on the political history and geography and his attempts to improve upon the formerly established texts of many inscriptions are undoubtedly of a scholarly nature. The bibliographical table at the beginning and the list of inscriptions at the end of the book are sure to be quite helpful to the scholars working on the history and epigraphy of medieval Bengal. Varendra Research Society has done a positive service to the cause of scholarship by publishing the work.

Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar.

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF MUSLIM SPAIN

S. M. Imamuddin M. A.

The story of Muslim rule in Spain which covered a long period of nearly eight centuries, with numerous ups and downs, reads like a fascinating romance. The conquest of the peninsula by the Muslim army in the early eighth century which marked the final stage of the Arabian expansion in the West, was but a continuation of the movement that had acquired irresistible momentum in the desert of Arabia. Viewed from the standpoint of culture, Muslim Spain was a positive link between the East and the West, for it is hardly possible to account for the growth of the Renaissance in Europe without taking due notice of the intellectual attainments of Spain and Sicily. European writers have treated of Spanish Islam with special emphasis on its political aspect. The book under review seems to have assimilated the findings of these scholars; and the author's claims to investigations are quite moderate. He tells us that he "has not been able to carry out independent research and has had to depend greatly on the results of the investigations made by other scholars in the field....." (Preface). The references in the footnotes give us the impression that he has not failed to verify the findings of his predecessors with the help of Arabic and Spanish sources which have been utilized independently at many places.

The author tries, and to a great extent succeeds, to give a readable account of the foundation of Muslim rule in Spain, the establishment of the Khilāfat, the expansion of the Arabian power, the gradual growth of the Christian power and the different phases of the disintegration of the Muslim states together with their final end. The treatment of the subjects is clear and concise, though not perhaps adequate. Under each of the chapters, the author has included either a single ruler or a group of rulers, analysing their military activities, achievements and character and showing hardly any eagerness to deal systematically with their general policies and attitude towards the problems of the state. It is true that following Dozy, Amir Ali or McCabe,

he has devoted a few sections to the condition of Spain on the eve of the Muslim conquest and to the contributions of some of the rulers to development of trade, commerce, industry, administration and culture. The treatment of these topics is too sporadic to give us a clear idea about the actual state of affairs. For their connection with the general plan of the work is incidental. But a political history cannot be complete, unless it shows a fuller awareness of the political institutions developed by the rulers. As connecting links between the ruler and the ruled, they influence the different aspects of the society and culture of the country. A chapter on the arts and sciences of the Spanish Muslims which have had their impact not only on Spanish life, but also on the medieval and modern civilisation of Europe, would have helped the reader in viewing the political history of Muslim Spain in its proper perspective.

Some of the sections of the book deserve special attention. In one of the initial chapters (24ff.), the writer realises the significance of the presence of cosmopolitan elements in the Spanish population, which was as a constant source of troubles to the Arab government. Again, in chapter XVII, he gives an impartial analysis of the factors leading to "the downfall of the Muslims in Spain," pointing out the inherent weakness of the government and its ultimate failure to get itself reconciled to the indigeneous population. The book is valuable for the beginner and particularly for those who want to have a brief outline of the political aspects of Islam in Spain.

Some of the illustrations give the reader an excellent idea about the grandeur of Spanish architecture and minor arts and the map clearly indicates the extent of the territorial expansion of the Muslim state. Though the get up and printing are good, the price seems quite high.

Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar

**CORPUS OF MUSLIM COINS OF BENGAL* ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF PAKISTAN, DACCA. 1960**

Abdul Karim

The study of the coin currency of the Muslim rulers of Bengal was virtually initiated with the discovery, in August 1863, of a huge find of 13,500 silver coins in the then native state of Cooch Behar, in North Bengal. The next considerably large find, so far known to have been unearthed, consisting of 346 silver pieces, was found buried, some years prior to 1922, in a village within the Rugganj Police Station in the District of Dacca. In between the above two finds as well as in subsequent years several large and small finds were brought to light in different ancient sites and places in Bengal. These finds are carefully studied by eminent numismatists and the result of their study and research have been recorded in numismatic journals, museum catalogues and monographs. These medalllic finds, after study, are distributed among museums and coin-cabinets both in Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent and abroad, or retained by the collectors in their safe custody, where these are now preserved scrupulously, but the bulk of this precious treasure has found its way in the coin collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Shillong Coin cabinet and the Dacca Museum.

It is an admitted fact that of all materials and documentary evidences, the Coinage provides the most authentic and dependable source for building up the history of a nation or a dynasty specially of Muslim rulers. It furnishes the name of the ruling king, the date, the place of its issuance and the palaeography in which these informations are recorded. All these factors substantially help to prove the existence of a monarch, the period of his rule and the extent of his territory, but the conventional way of writing presents immense difficulty and calls for a technical knowledge and endurance to decipher them.

* The book has recently earned for its author "Akbar Silver Medal" awarded by the Numismatic Society of India.

I have already hinted above that a considerable amount of spade work has been done by pioneer numismatists and succeeding research scholars in the field and they have effectively fixed genealogy and chronology of the Muslim rulers of Bengal, but there still remained some lacuna and controversial points which are required to be settled satisfactorily by more researches on the subject.

It is worth while mentioning that in recent years, Dr. Abdul Karim, a lecturer in history of the Dacca University, devoted his scholarship in the study of this branch of cultural history and has brought out a compendium under the title of "Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal". It appears from this resume that the scholar has undergone extreme pains to go through all the previous and upto date works on the subject, digested, assimilated, collated and scrutinised the findings of earlier numismatists and embodied the fruit of his labour in this work. It is a tremendous task no doubt to study and decipher the legends inscribed on muslim coins, some of which are found in a most conventional way, but Dr. Karim is seen to have faced courageously all these impediments with saintly devotion and endurance. He critically analysed the view of preceding scholars, re-examined the coins reproduced in plates of their works as far as possible, corrected the readings of doubtful legends, whenever better specimens of their prints were available and recorded his judgement in this Corpus.

The author has divided his work into two parts ; in the first part he discussed the important points like the rulers who issued Coins in their names, geographical places, mint towns, chronology, khilafat titles, classification, referencee and sundry other cognate subjects. In matters of classification, he says, he followed mainly the model of the catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but in cases of new finds or unclassified spectmens he adopted his own method which he considered convenient. In the second part, on the other hand, he has recorded the result of his studies.

In this connection it may consistently be remarked that Dr. Karim had the opportunity of checking the readings of coins in the coin cabinets of Dacca Museum including the collections of

Mr. Taifoor and Hakim Habibur Rahman, of Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, and of a few more private collections, and that the bulk and important collection, deposited in the coin-cabinets of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the British Museum, the Shillong cabinet and several other small collections could not be checked as they lie in alien countries and as such are not easily accessible to any Pakistan scholar. In the alternative the author might have had recourse to check the reading of Coins, specially the doubtful and controversial ones, from fac-similes, reproduced in coin plates ; and I am afraid this method of chcking may not attain absolute conviction, unless the originals are consulted. Nevertheless, this new approach of the author to study coin is highly laudable and I am confident the corpus will prove useful and be profitably consulted both by students of history for determining the chronology of the Muslim rulers of Bengal and by research scholars for guidance and references.

In fine, I would like to offer my observances in regard to few points, discussed in the Corpus :—

(i) The reading of the mint-name on a silver Coin of Sultan Iltutmish (I. M. C P 21, No. 38 ; coinage, P 20, No. 52A), presented practical difficulty. N. Wright's suggestion "Ba-Lakor" may summarily be dispensed with asiit does not convey any meaning. The reading 'Nogawar' also does not fit in. In the circumstances Hoernles' reading "Ba-Lakhanti" appears as near approach to the truth ; but the presence of the last letter 'r' still remains un-explained as has rightly been pointed out by Dr. Karim.

(ii) I have re-examined from plate the Coin No 6 of Ghiyāth-ad-Din Bahadur Shāh, described on page 41 of Suppl. IMC and am of opinion that my reading of the first line, within circle "Nasir-Zaman" is comeet, ناسر (na) is written over نصر, (Sir) (Nasir) and the so-called redundant الف (Alif) goes with the word الوائى (al-wāthiq) However, the original Coin in the cabinet of the Indian Museum may be consulted which is inaccessible for the present.

(iii) On examining the coin No 6, of Muḡīth-ud-Dīn Yuzback, described on page 146 of I. M. C. Mustrated in plate I, I am inclined to assert that the reading offered by Dr. Karimas

ارمردن (urmardan) is more convincing than that of N-Wright as ارض بدن (Ard Badan).

(iv) I endorse the view of the 'Corpus' (page 32) that Shamsuddīn Fīrōz Shāh of Bengal had associated his three sons Jalāluddīn Mahmud, Shihābuddīn Bughdah and Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Bahādur in the administration of his kingdom and allowed them to issue Coins in their names simultaneously along with him, and that they were not rebellious, as Dr. K.R. Qanungo maintains.

(V) The reading of the pseudonym بغهده (Bughdah) offered by Dr. Karim as a suffix to the name of Shihābuddīn Bughdah Shāh is found correct on examination, as the letter (dal) is quite clear in the coin No 13, reproduced in plate I of I. M. C. Thomas and later numismatists read this word as Bughra which is erroneous.

(VI) Bhattasali's presumptive reading of the date 742 as 743, on the Coin of 'Alā'uddīn 'Alī Shāh, illustrated by Thomas in his *Initial Coinage of Bengal* part I No. 8 is highly conjectural ; while Dr. Karim's corrective reading as 743 is most suggestive. The coin unfortunately can not be re-examined as it now lies beyond our reach. Thomas' reproduction also is not much helpful in this respect. As regards the date 741 read in a Coin of the 'Kalna Hoard' it is suggested that the specimen, now preserved in the Coin cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, may conveniently be re-examined.

(VII) The fact of representing Coins, bearing the date 740, in the coin-collections of (a) *Initial Coinage of Bengal* (Thomas) (b) Suppl. Shillong cabinet (Botham and friel), and Suppt. Indian Museum, catalogue (S. Ahmad) speaks eloquently that Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh had virtually assumed sovereign power in Bengal in 740. This view has been accepted by Blochmanas well in his "*Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal*" on page 308, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XLII, 873. The point has also been discussed by me in the "*Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. IV, 31-33.*"

(VIII) Dr. Karim has attempted to correct the reading of the mint name, on Coin No. 33, I. M. C. as *Awwalistan* in contravention of Bourdillon's reading as *Chawalistan* I have

reexamined the coin from the reproduction in plate II of the Indian Museum Catalogue and found that the hooked head of the letter چ (che) is clearly visible at the root of the initial letter Alif. Moreover the preceding word is undoubtedly ملک and not مبارکه as contended by him. The reproduction of this specimen as No 9, plate III in the Corpus is awefully blurred and as such is not helpful.

(IX) On examination of the plate the correction of date on coins No. 65 and 66 in I. M. C. of Ghiyāthuddīn 'Shāh, from 790 and odd years to 813 seems to be reasonable. Since the coins are not available for checking their dates no comment can be made at this stage.

(X) The reading of the coin I. M. C. No. 96 has been checked from the plate and the date is found to be 818 as suggested by the author of the Corpus.

(XI) The reading of the legend on coin No. 9, plate X page 132 of "*Coins and Chronology*" by Bhattasali as بن کنس شاه over the advancing lion to right is fantastic and highly conjectual. A similar coin has been described in suppl. I. M. C. no 139, plate III

(XII) The correction proposed by Dr. Karim relating to Coin I. M. C. No 147 as المعظم الاعظم in place of الاعظم only and to the mint name as satgaon coin No 124, in Taifoor collection are reasonable and correct ; the omission of the word سلطان pointed out on I. M. C. No. 149 and 150 is also justified.

(XIII) The author of the Corpus contends that the so called coins of Nāsiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh II (895-896), described by Bourdillon as No. 162 in I. M. C. and Laidlay elsewhere are actually the issues of Maḥmūd Shāh I (846-864). In the absence of mint and date on these coins and the similarity of legend on coins of both the Sultans the contention of Dr. Karim may be accepted as fairly reasonable, until and unless it is proved otherwise by discovery of fresh hands hoards.

The mis-reading of the Sultān's name as Muḥammad in place of Maḥmūd, on the coin No. 162 in I. M. C. may be interpreted as a case of misprints.

(XIV) The reading of the legend on Coin I. M. C. No. 217 has been checked from the plate and it is revealed that it is an issue of Maḥāh, son of Ḥusain Shāh as contended by Dr. Karim and not of the latter, as identified by Bourdillon.

(XV) Bhattasali is inclined to identify the mint Chandrabad inscribed on Coin No. 149 of Husain Shāh, in Taifoor collection, with the village called Chandpur or Chandpara in the Murshidabad district, on account of the Sultan's association with the place in his early life. Chandpur is never known to be an important place during the reign of the Independent Sultans of Bengal. Bhattasali's identification of the mint Chandrabad with Chandpur or Chandpara in Murshidabad seems to be imagination and farfetched.

(XV) The second Inscription of Jalāluddīn Muhammad Shāh Sultān of Bengal, mentioned by Dr. Karim in his Corpus, on page 145, as unpublished, has since been published in the Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. IV, by S. Ahmad on pp. 47-48, The inscription bears the date 835 A. H. (1432 4 C) as much this document is early by one year than the one preserved in the Dacca Museum and published by Dr. A. H. Dani.

Shamsuddin Ahmad

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58. Mr. Azizul Haque, M. A. 23. 19, 1957
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| 59. | Director of Archaeology, Karachi, Pakistan. | 10. 9. 1957 |
| 60. | Mr. B. Ahmad,
37, Becharams Gate, Dacca. | 12. 9. 1957 |
| 61. | Dr. Govinda Chandra Dev, M. A. Ph. D.
Lecturera Phil osophy, Dacca University. | 27. 9. 1957 |
| 62. | Mr. P. R. Barua, M. A.
Prof. of Pali, Chittagong College, Chittagong. | 5. 11. 1957 |
| 63. | Mr. A. Jalil Mir, M. A.
Deputy Post-Master General, Lahoro. | 17. 1. 1958 |
| 64. | Mr. A. K. M. Nazmul Karim, M. A.,
Head of the Dept. of Sociology, Dacca University. | 17. 1. 1958 |
| 65. | M. A. F. M. Safullah, M. A.,
10. North Brook Hall Road, Dacca, | 17. 1. 1958 |
| 66. | Dr. M. Rahman, M. Sc., Ph. D.
Reader in Mathematics, Dacca University. | 22. 1. 1958 |
| 67. | Mr. Zafrul Huda, M. A.
Lecturer in Persian and Urdu,
Dacca University. | 29. 2. 1958 |
| 68. | Mr. M. A. Khair, M. A.
Race Course, Comilla. | 23. 2. 1958 |
| 69. | Prof. H. A. R. Gibb,
16. Dunster Street, Camrbidge,
36, Mass, U. S. A. | 7. 3. 1958 |
| 70. | Dr. Istiaq Husain Qureshi, M. A., Ph. D.
Zeba Manzar, Shahid-e-Millat Road, Karachi-5, | 7. 3. 1958 |
| 71. | Mr. Abdul Ali Khan, M. A.
Principal, Govt, College, Mianwali, West Pakistan, | 7. 3. 1958 |
| 72. | Dr. S. M. Murshid. M. A., Ph. D.
C/o. English Dept, Dacca University | 19. 3. 1958 |
| 73. | Mr. Ahmad Sharif, M. A.,
Lecturer in Bengali, Dacca University. | 5. 11. 1958 |
| 74. | Mr. Ghiyasuddin Ahmad, M. A.
Lecturer in History, Dacca University, | 15. 12. 1958 |
| 75. | Mr. Hasan Nawab, C. S. P.
31, Minto Road. Dacca, | 18. 2. 1959 |
| 76. | Mr. C. Op't Land,
103, Dhan Mandi Road, Dacca, | 18, 2. 1959 |

77. Mr. M. S. H. Chishty, M. A., C. S. P. 10. 5. 1959
Sub-Divisional Officer, Jamalpur, Mymensingh.
78. Prof. S. R. Kamm, M. A., Ph. D. 23. 7. 1959
Chairman, Division of Social Science,
Wheatson College Wheatson,
Illinois, U. S. A.
79. Mvi. Abdul Qadir, 23. 7. 1959
Director of Pashto Academy,
University of Peshawar, Peshawar.
80. Mr. M. S. Khan, M. A. 6. 1. 1960
Librarian, University of Dacca.
81. Mr. A. K. Md. Fazlur Rahman. M. A. 10. 2. 1960
Research Scholar, Asiatic Society of
Pakistan, Dacca.
82. Mr. Md. Idris Ali, M. A., 17. 2. 1960
Bengali Academy, Dacca.
83. Mowlana Abdur Rahman al-Kashghari, 17. 2. 1960
Madrasa-i-Alia, Dacca.
84. Prof. W. C. Smith, 17. 2. 1960
Director, Institute of Islamic Studies,
McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
85. Dr. Nazimuddin Ahmad, M. A., Ph. D. 5. 4. 1960
Supt. of Archaeology,
Lalbagh, Dacca.
86. Mr. Mustafa Hasan, 5. 4. 1960
20, Kailash Ghosh Lane, Dacca.
87. Mr. M. F. Khan, M. A., 5. 4. 1960
Dy. Director. Bureau of National Reconstruction
Eden Building, Dacca.
88. The Principal,
Quaid-e-Azam College, Dacca.
89. Dr. Abdullah Chaghatai, M. A., D. Litt. 7. 9. 1960
15, F. Gulbarg, Lahore, W. Pak.
90. Dr. Abdul Hamid, M. A., Ph. D., 7. 9. 60
Professor of History, Govt. College, Lahore.
91. The Principal,
Chandpur College, Chandpur, Tippera. 7. 9. 1960

**REPORT
OF
*THE GENERAL SECRETARY***

**ASIATIC SOCIETY OF
PAKISTAN**



TENTH ANNUAL MEETING

DACCA
6th April— 1691

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- "Riddles Current in the District of Chittagong" (East-Pakistan), *JAS/Bompay*, XI (1917-1920), 296-327; 960-979, XII (1921-1924), 339-363; XIII (1924-1928), 657-672.
- "Riddles Current in the District of Murshidabad" (India

**The Tenth Annual Meeting
of
Asiatic Society of Pakistan
April 6, 1961
Report of the General Secretary**

The last annual meeting of the Society was held on April 10, 1960 in the Auditorium of the Central Public Library, Dacca. Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rahman, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca, was kind enough to inaugurate the function which was presided over by Prof. Abdul Halim, the President of the Society.

During the year under review, the membership of the Society increased from 86, as it stood before the last annual meeting, to 117, showing an increase of 31 members. The names of the new members are given in Appendix 'A'. During the year 2 members of the Council Mr. A.F.M. Abdul Haque Faridi and Dr. Abdul Karim, left Dacca for Karachi and London respectively. In their place Dr. Muhammad Ishaque and Mr. C. Op't Land were coopted. In the last month Mr. Op't Land also left Dacca to take up his new appointment in Tehran.

The Appendix 'B' gives an abstract of account for the year 1960-61 upto the end of January 1961. The opening balance of the year under review was Rs. 46,163-8-3. The Government grant for the last year as well as this year totalling Rs. 80,000.00 only was received. The income from the subscription fees was Rs. 1,440.12 and from the admission fees Rs. 560.00 This year we have been able to sell our publications and make an income of Rs. 1,574. 50 only. Finally the Society was fortunate enough to receive a grant of Rs. 5,000.00 only from the Bureau of National Reconstruction, Government of East Pakistan, Dacca, towards the cost of printing "Muslim Architecture in Bengal" by Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani. On the expenditure side the largest amount Rs. 44,935.86 only was spent on publications and we brought out the following works :-

1. Journal vol. IV, 1959.
2. Journal vol. V, 1960.
3. Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani, vol. I, by Dr. S.M. Imamuddin,
4. A Bibliographical Introduction to Modern Islamic Development in India and Pakistan, by Mr. Muin-Ud-Din Ahmad Khan
5. Social Research in East Pakistan, ed. by Prof. Pierre Bessagnet.
6. Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal (down to A. D. 1538) by Dr. Abdul Karim.

The following four books are in the Press :—

1. Muslim Architecture in Bengal, by Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani
2. Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani wa Makhzan-i-Afghani, vol. II. by Dr. S. M. Imamuddin,
3. British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal by Dr. Azizur Rahman Mallick.
4. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, relating to the 'Wahhabi' Trials of 1863-1870 by Mr. Muin-Ud-Din Ahmad Khan.

The following books have been received for printing :—

1. Fishes of Dacca, by Abdul Latif Bhuiyan, M. Sc.
2. The Economic History of Spain under the Umayyads, (711-1031 A. C.) by Dr. S. M. Imamuddin.
3. Some aspects of the history of the Muslim Community in Bengal (1884-1912), by Dr. Mrs. Sufia Ahmed.

The other big expenditure was on developing the Library of the Society. A sum of Rs. 7,296.75 was spent on the purchase of books which included a rich collection of old books from the Library of Late Mvi. Abdul Wali. This entire Library was obtained for the Society at a nominal price of Rs. 1,800.00. The transaction was due to the great interest taken by Mr. Md. Sharif Husain, Lecturer, Norail Victoria College, Jessore. These books had to be rebound, and a sum Rs. 4,665.56 was spent on their binding. We also got the photostat and microfilm copies of the following MSS. at a cost of Rs. 6,398.19 only.

1. Sirat-e-Firoz Shahi.
2. Chandain of Mullah Dawood.
3. Intiqad.

4. Sharhu R. Nafs.
5. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi.
6. Ravenshaw : Gaur, its ruins and inscriptions.
7. Tarikh-i-Mustaqi.
8. Muhammad-i-Kabir.
9. Documents of Dudu Mian

With these additions to the Library it was necessary to appoint a Library Clerk who could look after these books and MSS. and arrange them properly. The Council approved the appointment of Mr. Syed Reza at Rs. 125.00 only per month

This year 3 Research Scholars have been working :—

1. Mr. S. A. Jamil on 'The Antibiotic, Ramnacin obtained from East Pakistan.
2. Mr. Fazlur Rahman on 'Bengal between 1538 and 1608.'
3. Mr. M. Enamul Haque on 'Historical Geography of Bengal'.

The monthly meetings of the Society were held regularly. Appendix 'C' gives a list of papers read in the meetings. There were two distinguished visitors during the year, who were good enough to address the Society members :—Prof. A. L. Basham of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and Dr. Dusan Zbavitel, Professor and Head of the Indological Studies, at the University of Prague, Czechoslovakia.

As for the projects undertaken by the members of the Society the following are worth mentioning :-

1. Dr. A.B.M. Habibullah is busy in editing the valuable work on the history of Assam known as Fath Ibria by Shihabuddin Talish.
2. Dr. S.M. Imamuddin has engaged himself in editing the Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi.
3. Dr. M.R. Tarafdar is preparing a Bibliography of the books and articles on Muslim Bengal.
4. Mr. M.S. Khan is busy in writing on Captain Canning's Mission to the Court of Ava, 1803, 1809 & 1811-12— a Story in Anglo-Burmese Relations.
5. Dr. A. Halim is editing a portion of Subah-i-Sadiq that deals with Bengal.
6. Mr. Abdul Majed Khan is working on Muhammad Reza Khan (1760-90)—A Politico-Social Study.

7. Dr. S.M. Murshid is working on "The Documents of Dudu Milan."

The greatest difficulty that the Society is still facing is in respect of accommodation. Though the Dacca Museum Authorities have been good enough to lend three small rooms to the Society on a nominal rent of Rs. 45.00 only per month, there is hardly any space available there for keeping more books or for opening a reading room. With the increase of our publications there is an acute problem of storing the copies of the works. Unfortunately the Provincial Government, which came forward to allot one bigha of land to the Society last year, never fulfilled the promise. Even after my repeated attempts I have not been able to get any reply from the Authorities. In the interest of the Society I now appeal to you to do something to find accommodation if the work is to go on with full swing.

Another great difficulty that we are facing is with regard to selling our publications to the foreign countries and purchase of books from outside. In spite of my constant efforts I have not been able to get any agent in East Pakistan who could undertake these works on commission basis from the Society. On the other hand, it is almost impossible for the Society to manage with the Controller of Imports & Exports, Govt. of Pakistan, Chittagong, to get the necessary Import and Export Licences, without which the business cannot be transacted. But all the same I must assure the members that there is a demand for our publications outside Pakistan and I hope some day this problem will also be solved.

At the end it is my pleasant duty to offer my sincere thanks to all my colleagues and office bearers for their kind cooperation and help which I enjoyed during my term of office.

Sd/- Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani,
General Secretary,
Asiatic Society of Pakistan
DACCA.

Appendix A

LIST OF THE NEW MEMBERS

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 1. Dr. Nazimuddin Ahmed, M. A. Ph. D.
Supt. of Archaeology, Lalbagh, Dacca. | 5. 4. 1960 |
| 2. Mr. Mustafa Hasan,
20, Kailash Ghose Lane, Dacca. | 5. 4. 1960 |
| 3. Mr. M. F. Khan, M. A.,
Dy. Director, Bureau of National Recons-
truction, Govt. of East Pakistan, Dacca | 5. 4. 1960 |
| 4. The Principal,
Quaid-e-Azam College, Dacca | 5. 4. 1960 |
| 5. Dr. Abdulla Chaghatai, M. A., D. Litt.
15, F, Gulbargh, Lahore. W. Pakistan. | 7. 9. 1960 |
| 6. Dr. Abdul Hamid, M. A., Ph. D.,
Professor of History, Govt. College, Lahore. | 7. 9. 1960 |
| 7. The Principal,
Chandpur College, Chandpur, Tippera. | 7. 9. 1960 |
| 8. The Principal,
Chowmohani College, Noakhali, | 7. 9. 1960 |
| 9. Mr. M. A. Salam, M. A.
Secretary, E. P. S. E. B. Dacca. | 7. 9. 1960 |
| 10. Mr. Devaprasad Guha, M. A.,
Lecturer of Pali, University of Rangoon,
Burma. | 7. 9. 1960 |
| 11. Dr. J.A. Haywood, Lecturer in Arabic,
Durham University. | 2. 11. 1960 |
| 12. Mr. A. T. M. Anisuzzamman.,
Lecturer in Bengali, Dacca University. | 2. 11. 1960 |
| 13. Dr. Mrs. Neelima Ibrahim, M. A., Ph. D.
Lecturer in Bengali, Dacca University. | 4. 11. 1960 |
| 14. Mrs. Rokeya Rahman Kabir, M. A.
Prof. of History, Eden Girl's College, Dacca. | 4. 11. 1960 |
| 15. Mr. S. A. R. Hashimi, M. A.,
Prof. of Islamic History and Culture,
Eden Girl's College, Dacca. | 4. 11. 1960 |
| 16. Mr. Munir Chaudhury, M. A.,
Lecturer in Bengali, Dacca University. | 9, 11. 1960 |

17. Dr. S. H. M. Zaidi, M. A. Ph. D., 9. 11. 1960
Social Psychologist, Academy for Village
Development, Comilla, East Prkistan.
18. Mr. T. K. Barua, M. A., 9. 11. 1960
Custodian, Archaeological Camp,
Mainamati, Comilla.
19. Mr. Muzammel Haque, M. A., 9. 11, 1960
Prof. of History, G. D. College,
Kishoreganj, Mymensing.
20. The Director, 10.12.1960
Pakistan Academy for Village Development,
Comilla.
21. The Principal, 10.12.1960
Victoria College, Comilla.
22. Mr. R. A. Siddique, M. A., 10.12.1960
Sobhan and Company, 127, Station Road,
Chittagong.
23. Dr. A. R. Mallick, M. A., Ph. D. 10.12.1960
Head of the Deptt. of History,
Rajshahi University, Rajshahi.
24. Dr. A. Farouk, M. A., Ph. D. 25.12.1960
Lecturer in Commerce, Dacca University.
25. Mr. Tanbir Ahmad Siddique, 25.12.1960
Baladia House, Dacca.
26. Mr. Abdul Momin Chowdhury, M. A., 25.12.1960
Lecturer in History, Dacca University.
27. Mr. M. Enamul Haque, M. A. 2. 4. 1960
Research Scholar, Asiatic Society
of Pakistan, Dacca.
28. Mr. Syed Ali Ahsan, M. A. 2. 4. 1961
Director, Bengali Academy, Dacca,
29. Mr. John E. Owen, M. A., 2. 4. 1961
Deptt. of Sociology, Dacca University.
30. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, 2. 4. 1960
Director, Historical Research,
Panjab University, West Pakistan. 2. 4. 1921
31. Mr. Nazir Hyder, 2. 4. 1961
Old Currency House. Mcleod Road, Karachi.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF PAPERS READ IN THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN 1960-61

1. Prof. A. L. Basham of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, England, read a paper on 'Three Western Historians of India' on February 5, 1960.
2. Dr. Nazimuddin Ahmad, Superintendent of Archaeology, Dacca, read a paper on 'Excavations at Mahasthan' on April, 10, 1960.
3. Mr. Syed Murtaza Ali, Director of the Gazetted Officer's Academy, read a paper on 'The Chandra Kings of Pattikera and Arakan' on April 21, 1960.
4. Dr. A. Karim, lecturer in History, University of Dacca read a paper on 'The date and place of Accession of Sher Shah' on May 10, 1960.
5. Prof. Hasan Askari Professor of History, Patna College, read a paper on Mullah Daud's Chandain and Sadhan's Mina Sat' on June 18, 1960.
6. Dr. M. Kabir, Reader in History, University of Dacca read a paper on 'The Ziyarids of Tabas and Gurgan' on July 16, 1960.
7. Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani, Reader in History, University of Dacca, read a paper on 'Early Muslim Architecture in Bengal' on August 27, 1960.
8. Mr. Syed Murtaza Ali, Director of the Gazetted Officer's Academy, read a paper on 'The Early Muslim History of Chittagong' on September 9, 1960.
9. Mr. Nazimuddin Ahmad Khan, Research Officer, Bureau of Archaeology, Eden Building, Dacca, read a paper on 'The Early Muslim History of Chittagong' on September 22, 1960.

(8)

Mr. C. Op't Land, UNESCO Expert to the Deptt. of Sociology, University of Dacca, read a paper on 'Khasi Hills in Pictures' on December 12, 1960.

Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani, Reader in History, University of Dacca, read a paper on 'Chandra Dynasty in the light of the newly discovered inscriptions' on January 25, 1961.





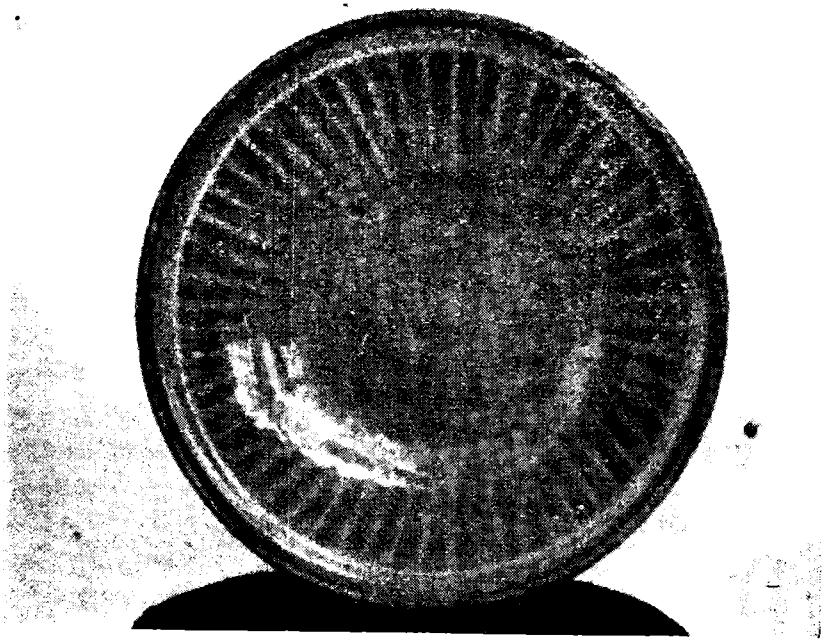


Fig. 1. Celadon Plate, d 18"



Fig. 2. Blue and white Plate, d. 19½"



Fig. 3. Blue and white bowl, d. 13"

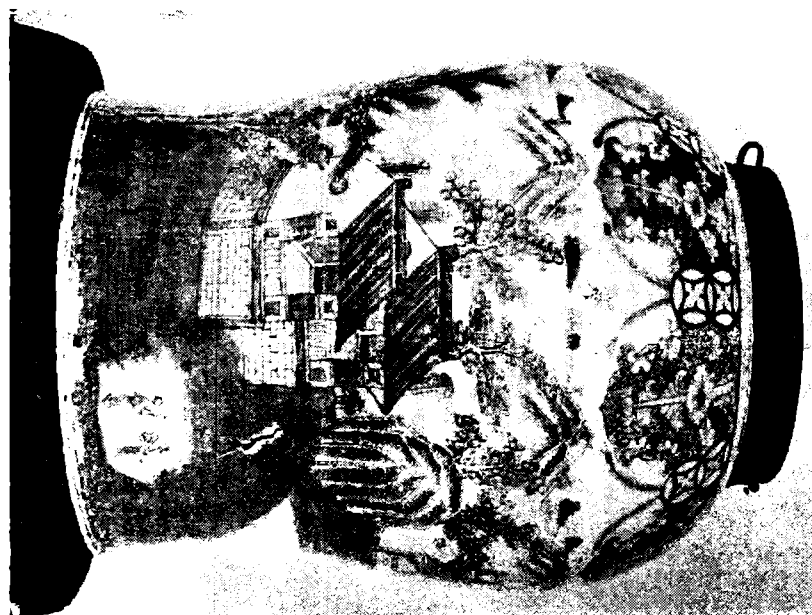


Fig. 4. Blue and white jar, h. 19 3/4"

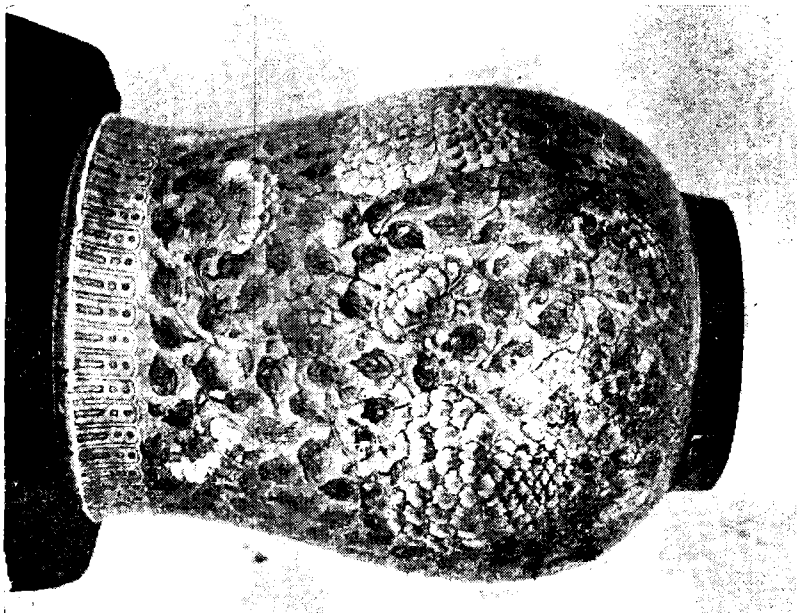


Fig. 5. Famille verte jar, h. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

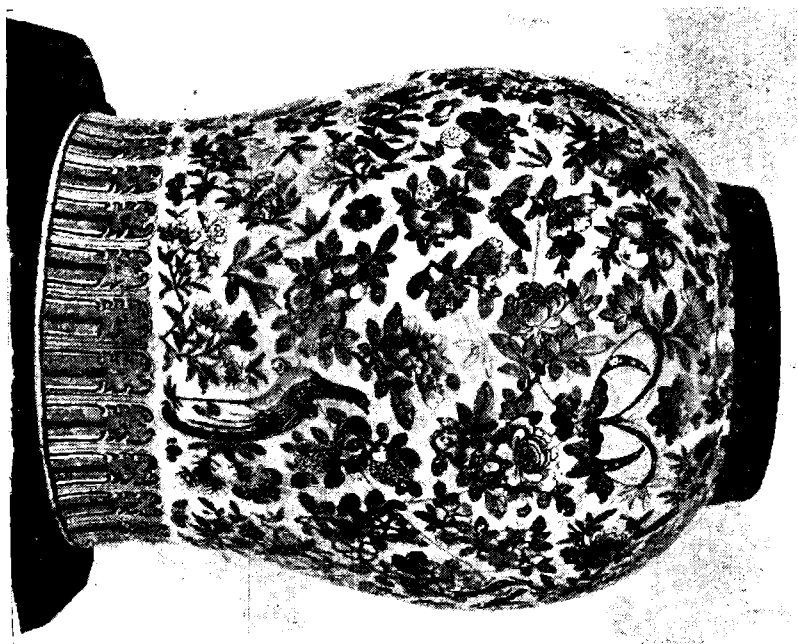


Fig. 6. Polychrome jar, h. 19"

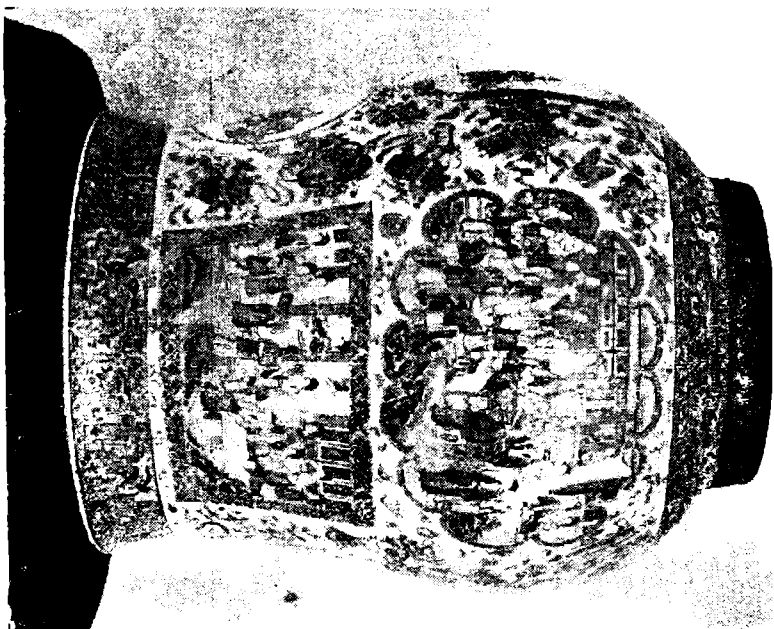


Fig. 7. Enameled jar, h. 19"

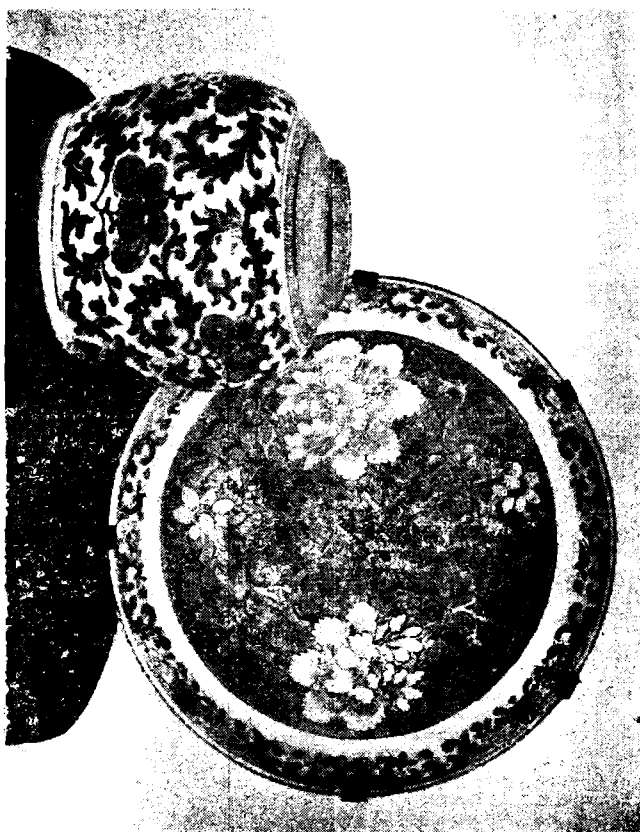


Fig. 8. Famille verte plate, d. 14", and blue and white jar, h. 6 3/4"

